NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. CCCCXXV.

APRIL, 1892.

PATRIOTISM AND POLITICS.

BY HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL GIBBONS.

I HAVE no apology to make for offering some reflections on the political outlook of the nation; for my rights as a citizen were not abdicated or abridged on becoming a Christian prelate, and the sacred character which I profess, far from lessening, rather increases, my obligations to my country.

In answer to those who affirm that a churchman is not qualified to discuss politics, by reason of his sacred calling, which removes him from the political arena, I would say that this statement may be true in the sense that a clergyman as such should not be a heated partisan of any political party; but it is not true in the sense that he is unfitted by his sacred profession for discussing political principles. His very seclusion from popular agitation gives him a vantage-ground over those that are in the whirlpool of party strife, just as they who have never witnessed Shakespeare's plays performed on the stage are better qualified to judge of the genius of the author and the literary merit of his productions than they who witness the plays amid the environment of stage scenery.

It is needless to say that I write not merely as a churchman, but as a citizen; not in a partisan, but in a patriotic, spirit; not in advocacy of any particular party, but in vindication of pure

Copyright, 1892, by LLOYD BRYCE. All rights reserved.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government. There is a moral side to most political questions; and my purpose here is to consider the ethical aspect of politics, and the principles of justice by which they should be regulated. In view of the Presidential election coming on, the remarks I am about to offer are, it seems to me, specially opportune.

Every man in the Commonwealth leads a dual life,—a private life under the shadow of the home, and a public life under the ægis of the State. As a father, a husband, or a son, he owes certain duties to the family; as a citizen, he owes certain obligations to his country. These civic virtues are all comprised under the generic name, patriotism.

Patriotism means love of country. Its root is the Latin word *patria,* a word not domesticated in English. The French have it in *patrie;* the Anglo-Saxon and Teutonic races have it literally translated in Fatherland. "Fatherland," says Cicero, "is the common parent of us all: *Patria est communis omnium nostrum parens.*"* It is the paternal home extended, the family reaching out to the city, the province, the country. Hence, with us Fatherland and Country have come to be synonymous. Country in this sense comprises two elements, the soil itself and the men who live thereon. We love the soil in which our fathers sleep, *terra patrum, terra patria,* the land in which we were born. We love the men who as fellow dwellers share that land with us. The other day when Dom Pedro died in Paris, he was laid to his last sleep on Brazilian soil, which he had carried away with him for that very purpose. Let a citizen from Maine meet a citizen from California on the shores of the Bosphorus or on the banks of the Tiber, they will, at once, forget that at home they dwelt three thousand miles apart. State lines are obliterated, party differences are laid aside, religious animosities, if such had existed, are extinguished. They warmly clasp hands, they remember only that they are fellow American citizens, children of the same mother, fellow-dwellers in the same land over which floats the star-spangled banner.

Patriotism implies not only love of soil and of fellow citizens, but also, and principally, attachment to the laws, institutions, and government of one's country; filial admiration of the heroes, statesmen, and men of genius, who have contributed to its renown by the valor of their arms, the wisdom of their counsel, or

* De Fin., III., 19.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their literary fame. It includes, also, an ardent zeal for the maintenance of those sacred principles that secure to the citizen freedom of conscience, and an earnest determination to consecrate his life, if necessary, *pro aris et focis*, in defence of altar and fireside, of God and Fatherland. Patriotism is a universal sentiment of the race :

> " Breathes there the man with soul so dead
> Who never to himself hath said,
> ' This is my own, my native land ! ' "

A certain philosophical school has taught that love of country has its origin in physical comfort. *Ibi patria ubi bene.* But is it not true that one's country becomes dear in proportion to the sufferings endured for it ? Have not the sacrifices of our wars developed the patriotism of the American ? In fact, it is the most suffering and persecuted races that are endowed with the deepest patriotism. We may even go so far as to say that the rougher the soil, the harsher the climate, the greater the material privations of a land, the more intense is the love of its inhabitants for it. Witness the Irish peasant. And are not the Swiss in their narrow valleys and on their steep mountain sides, the Scotch on their rugged Highlands, the classic models of patriotism ? Nay, the Esquimau, amid the perpetual snows that hide from his eyes every green spot of earth, loves his home, nor dreams of a fairer.

Patriotism is not a sentiment born of material and physical well-being; it is a sentiment that the poverty of country and the discomforts of climate do not diminish, that the inflictions of conquest and despotism do not augment. The truth is, it is a rational instinct placed by the Creator in the breast of man. When God made man a social being, He gave him a sentiment that urges him to sacrifice himself for his family and his country, which is, as it were, his larger family. "Dear are ancestors, dear are children, dear are relatives and friends; all these loves are contained in love of country." *

The Roman was singularly devoted to his country. *Civis Romanus sum* was his proudest boast. He justly gloried in being a citizen of a republic conspicuous for its centuries of endurance,

* Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est. (Cicero, De Off., I., 17.)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the valor of its soldiers, for the wisdom of its statesmen, and the genius of its writers. One of its greatest poets has sung: "It is sweet and honorable to die for one's country."* So execrable was the crime of treason regarded that the traitor not only suffered extreme penalties in this life, but he is consigned after death by Virgil to the most gloomy regions of Tartarus.†

Love of country shows itself in the citizen by the observance of law and the good use of political rights, and in those that, for the time being, govern, by justice and disinterestedness in their administration. Ministers of religion manifest their patriotism, not only as citizens, but also as spiritual teachers and leaders of the people, by inculcating the religious, moral, and civic virtues, and by prayer to the throne of God for the welfare of the land. "I desire, therefore," wrote St. Paul to his disciple Timothy, "first of all that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men; for kings and for all that are in high station, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all piety and chastity; for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour."‡

The Catholic Church in our country is not unmindful of this duty. A prayer composed by Archbishop Carroll to beg Heaven's blessing on the land and its rulers, a masterpiece of liturgical literature, is recited every Sunday at the solemn service in some parts of the United States, and notably in the Cathedral at Baltimore, in which the custom has never ceased since it was introduced by Baltimore's first Archbishop over one hundred years ago.

To the soldier, patriotism has inspired the most heroic deeds of courage and self-sacrifice. The victories of Debora, Judith, and Gedeon, achieved for God and country, are recorded with praise in Sacred Scripture.

The stand of Leonidas in the pass of Thermopylæ with his three hundred Spartans against the million Persians of Xerxes; the boldness of his answer to the oriental monarch's summons to lay down arms, "Let him come and take them;" the recklessness of his reply to the threat, that so numerous were his foes that the very heavens would be darkened by their arrows, "'T is

* Dulce et decorum pro patria mori. (Horace, B. III., Ode II.)

† Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
imposuit. Fixit leges pretio atque refixit. (Æneid, B. VI.)

‡ I. Timothy, II., 1-3.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

well. We shall fight in the shade;" the fierce battle; the fall of almost all the Grecian heroes; the total defeat of the Persian host—are commonplaces of history, are themes of the school-room. That day ranks among the great days of the world. Had Xerxes triumphed, Europe had become Asiatic, and the trend of history had been changed.

The three calls of Cincinnatus to the Dictatorship from the solitude and cultivation of his Sabine farm, his three triumphs over the enemies of the Republic, kindled not in his breast the fire of political ambition. When the foe was repelled and his country needed him no longer, he laid down the sword of command for the plow, left "the pomp and circumstance" of the camp for the quiet of his rural homestead, like him whose grave hallows the hillside of Mount Vernon—two notable instances of patriotism, making men great in peace no less than in war. Need I recall to the readers of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW Regulus, Horatius Cocles, Brutus, the first consul, whose heroic and patriotic deeds have been the exultant theme of the classic authors of Rome?

Patriotism finds outward and, so to say, material expression, in respect for the flag that symbolizes the country, and for the chief magistrate who represents it. Perhaps, it is only when an American travels abroad that he fully realizes how deep-rooted is his love for his native country. The sentiment of patriotism, which may be dormant at home, is aroused and quickened in foreign lands.

The sight of an American flag flying from the mast of a ship in mid-ocean or in some foreign port, awakes unwonted emotion and enthusiasm.

The interest which an American feels in a presidential election or in any other important domestic event, is intensified when he is abroad. When I was travelling through the Tyrol, in 1880, I had a natural desire to find out who had been nominated for the Presidency; but in that country news travels slowly. On reaching Innspruck, I learned that Mr. Garfield was the nominee. I got my information from an American student buried in the cloisters of a seminary, to whom the outside world was apparently dead. I never discovered and I dare say his professors never knew how he obtained his information. But the news was correct.

Americans are in the habit of visiting Rome every year in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

large numbers. The greater part of them on their arrival instinctively repair to the American College. Perhaps, the name of the college attracts them; perhaps, also, the consciousness that they will hear their mother-tongue. And when they enter its portals, where they are always sure to find a warm welcome from the genial rector, their eyes are gladdened by the familiar features of the "Father of his Country."

Love of country, as I have described it, which is fundamentally an ethical sentiment, and which was such in all nations, even before Christian Revelation was given to the world, and which is such to-day among nations that have not heard the Christian message, is elevated, ennobled, and perfected by the religion of Christ. Patriotism in non-Christian times and races has inspired heroism even unto death. We do not pretend that Christian patriotism can do more. But we do say that Christianity has given to patriotism and to the sacrifices it demands, nobler motives and higher ideals.

If the virtue of patriotism was held in such esteem by pagan Greece and Rome, guided only by the light of reason, how much more should it be cherished by Christians, instructed as they are by the voice of Revelation! The Founder of the Christian religion has ennobled and sanctified loyalty to country by the influence of His example and the force of His teaching.

When St. Peter was asked by the tax-collector whether his Master should pay the tribute money or not, he replied in the affirmative, and the penniless Master wrought a miracle to secure the payment of the money, though He was exempt from the obligation by reason of His poverty and His divine origin; for if the sons of kings are free from taxation, as Christ Himself remarked on that occasion, the Son of the King of kings had certainly a higher claim to exemption.

The Herodians questioned Jesus whether or not it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar. By this question they sought to ensnare Him in His words. If He admitted the obligation, He would have aroused the indignation of the Jews, who deemed it unlawful to pay tribute to a Gentile and idolatrous ruler. If, on the other hand, He denied the obligation, He would have incurred the vengeance of Rome. He made this memorable reply, which silenced His adversaries: "Render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and to God the things which are God's."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Apostles echo the voice of their Master. "Let every soul be subject to higher powers; for there is no power but from God. Therefore, he who resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they who resist, purchase for themselves damnation. Render, therefore, to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor."* "Be ye subject to every authority for God's sake, whether to the king as excelling, or to governors as sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of those who do well."† This short sentence, "There is no authority but from God," has contributed more effectually to the stability of nations and to the peace and order of society than standing armies and all the volumes ever written on the principles of government. It ennobles obedience to constituted authority by representing it, not as an act of servility to man, but of homage to God. It sheds a halo around rulers and magistrates by holding them up to us as the representatives of God. It invests all legitimate laws with a divine sanction by an appeal to our conscience.

If the Apostles and the primitive Christians had so much reverence for the civil magistrates in whose election they certainly had no voice; and if they were so conscientious in observing the laws of the Roman Empire, which often inflicted on them odious pains and disabilities, how much more respect should the American citizen entertain for the civil rulers in whose election he actively participates! With what alacrity should he fulfil the laws which are framed solely for his peace and protection and for the welfare of the Commonwealth!

The deification of the State in pagan times rested on a principle contrary to reason, and exacted sacrifices destructive of the moral worth of the citizen. The State absorbed the individual. It was held to be the proprietor and master of the citizen, who was only an instrument in its hand, to be used, cast aside, or broken at will. Christianity knows how to conciliate patriotism with the exigencies of man's personal dignity. Social perfection, or civilization, is in that form of government that secures to its members the greater facility for pursuing and attaining their end in life. That is the Christian notion of the State, and the American also, as laid

* Romans, xiii. † I. Peter, ii.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

down in the Declaration of Independence. It is stated therein that government is for the citizen, to secure to him his inalienable rights—that is to say, rights that are his and are inalienable by virtue of the supreme end marked out for him by the Creator.

Again, unlike pagan civilization, which despised the foreigner as a barbarian and a foe, Christian and American civilization sees its ideal in that universal charity revealed to the world by Christ, who came to teach the brotherhood of all men in the Fatherhood of the One God. Patriotism and cosmopolitism are not incompatible in the Christian. They find a model in the religious order, in the Catholicity and unity of the Church. And even in the political order, the United States offers a miniature picture of the brotherly federation of nations—forty-four sovereign States, sovereign and independent as to their internal existence, yet presenting to the rest of the world a national unity in the federal government.

And, indeed, when we reflect on the happiness and manifold temporal blessings which our political institutions have already conferred, and are destined in the future to confer, on millions of people, we are not surprised that the American citizen is proud of his country, her history, and the record of her statesmen.

Therefore, next to God, our country should hold the strongest place in our affections. Impressed, as we ought to be, with a profound sense of the blessings which our system of government continues to bestow on us, we shall have a corresponding dread lest these blessings should be withdrawn from us. It is a sacred duty for every American to do all in his power to perpetuate our civil institutions and to avert the dangers that threaten them.

The system of government which obtains in the United States is tersely described in the well-known sentence: "A government of the people, by the people, for the people;" which may be paraphrased thus: Ours is a government in which the people are ruled by the representatives of their own choice, and for the benefit of the people themselves.

Our rulers are called the servants of the people, since they are appointed to fulfil the people's wishes; and the people are called the sovereign people, because it is by their sovereign voice that their rulers are elected.

The method by which the supreme will of the people is registered is the ballot-box. This is the oracle that proclaims their

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

choice. This is the balance in which the merits of the candidates are weighed. The heavier scale determines at once the decision of the majority and the selection of the candidate.

And what spectacle is more sublime than the sight of ten millions of citizens determining, not by the bullet, but by the ballot, the ruler that is to preside over the nation's destinies for four years!

> "A weapon that comes down as still
> As snowflakes fall upon the sod;
> But executes a freeman's will,
> As lightning does the will of God:
> And from its force nor doors nor locks
> Can shield you, 'tis the ballot-box."

But the greatest blessings are liable to be perverted. Our Republic, while retaining its form and name, may degenerate into most odious tyranny; and the irresponsible despotism of the multitude is more galling, because more difficult to be shaken off, than that of the autocrat.

History is philosophy teaching by example. A brief review of the Roman Republic and the causes of its downfall will teach us a useful lesson. The Republic prospered so long as the citizens practised simplicity of life and the civil magistrates administered even-handed justice. Avarice and ambition proved its ruin.* The avarice of the poor was gratified by the bribery of the rich; and the ambition of the rich was fed by the votes of the poor.

In the latter days of the Republic bribery and corruption were shamefully practised. Marius was elected to the consulship by the purchase of votes and by collusion with the most notorious demagogues. Pompey and Crassus secured the consulship by intimidation, though neither of them was legally qualified for that office. The philosophy of Epicurus, introduced during the last years of the Republic, hastened the moral and mental corruption of Rome. The loss of the political autonomy of Greece, which preceded that of Rome, may be traced to the same cause. To the early Romans the oath was sacred, and perjury a detestable crime. We find in a letter of Cicero to Atticus a curious incident that shows how far the politicians of his day had departed from former standards.

* Primo pecuniæ, deinde imperii cupido crevit; ea quasi materies omnium malorum fuere. Sallust. Catalin. c. x.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Memmius," he writes, "has just made known to the Senate an agreement between himself and an associate candidate for the consulship on the one hand, and the two consuls of the current year on the other." It appears that the two consuls agreed to favor the candidacy of the aspirants on the following terms: The two aspirants bound themselves to forfeit to the consuls four hundred thousand sesterces if they failed to produce in favor of the consuls three augurs who were to swear that in their sight and hearing the Plebs (though such was not the fact) had voted the law *Curiate,* a law that invested the consuls with full military powers; and also if they failed to produce two ex-consuls who were to swear that in their presence the Senate had passed and signed a certain decree regulating the provinces of each consul though such was not the fact.* What a crowding of dishonesty in this one transaction! Can the worst kind of American politics furnish the match of this slate gotten up regardless of truth and oath?

Cato failed to be elected consul, although eminently worthy of that dignity, because he disdained to purchase the office by bribes. Cæsar had so far debauched the populace with flattery and bribes and the soldiers with pensions, that his election to the office of chief pontiff and consul was easily obtained.

During the Empire elections were usually a mere formality. Bribery was open and unblushing. Toward the end of the second century the Empire was publicly sold at auction to the highest bidder. Didius Julianus, a rich senator, obtained the prize by the payment of $620 to each soldier of the Prætorian guard. But he was executed after a precarious and inglorious reign of sixty-six days.

The history of the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire should be a salutary warning to us. Our Christian civilization gives us no immunity from political corruption and disaster. The oft-repeated cry of election frauds should not be treated with indifference, though, in many instances, no doubt, it is the empty charge of defeated partisans against successful rivals, or the heated language of a party press.

But after all reasonable allowances are made, enough remains of a substantial character to be ominous. In every possible way, by tickets insidiously printed, by "colonizing," "repeating," and

* Book IV., Letter XVIII.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"personation," frauds are attempted, and too often successfully, on the ballot. I am informed by a trustworthy gentleman that, in certain localities, the adherents of one party, while proof against bribes from their political opponents, will exact compensation before giving their votes even to their own party candidates. The evil would be great enough if it were restricted to examples of this kind, but it becomes much more serious when large bodies of men are debauched by the bribes or intimidated by the threats of wealthy corporations.

But when the very fountains of legislation are polluted by lobbying and other corrupt means ; when the hand of bribery is extended, and not always in vain, to our municipal, state, and national legislators ; when our law-makers become the pliant tools of some selfish and greedy capitalists, instead of subserving the interests of the people,—then, indeed, all patriotic citizens have reason to be alarmed about the future of our country.

The man who would poison the wells and springs of the land is justly regarded as a human monster, as an enemy of society, and no punishment could be too severe for him. Is he not as great a criminal who would poison and pollute the ballot-box, the unfailing fount and well-spring of our civil freedom and of our national life ?

The Ark of the Covenant was held in the highest veneration by the children of Israel. It was the oracle from which God communicated his will to the people. Two cherubim with outstretched wings were placed over it as sacred guardians. Oza was suddenly struck dead for profanely touching it. May we not, without irreverence, compare the ballot-box to the ancient Ark ? Is it not for us the oracle of God, because it is the oracle of the people ? God commands us to obey our rulers. It is through the ballot-box that our rulers are proclaimed to us ; therefore, its voice should be accepted as the voice of God. Let justice and truth, like twin cherubs, guard this sacred instrument. Let him who lays profane hands upon it be made to feel that he is guilty of a grievous offence against the stability of government, the peace of society, and the majesty of God.

Our Saviour, filled with righteous indignation, seizes a scourge and casts out of the Temple those that bought and sold in it, and overturns the tables of the money-changers, saying: "My house is a house of prayer, but you have made it a den of thieves." The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

polling booth is a temple, in which the angel of justice holds the scales with an even hand. The political money-changer pollutes the temple by his iniquitous bargains. The money-changer in Jerusalem's Temple trafficked in doves; the electioneering money-changer traffics in human beings.

Let the minister of justice arise, and, clothed with the panoply of authority, let him drive those impious men from the temple. Let the buyers and sellers of votes be declared infamous; for they are trading in our American birthright. Let them be cast forth from the pale of American citizenship and be treated as outlaws.

I do not think the punishment too severe when we consider the enormity and far-reaching consequences of their crime. I hold that the man who undermines our elective system is only less criminal than the traitor who fights against his country with a foreign invader. The one compasses his end by fraud, the other by force.

The privilege of voting is not an inherent or inalienable right. It is a solemn and sacred trust, to be used in strict accordance with the intentions of the authority from which it emanates.

When a citizen exercises his honest judgment in casting his vote for the most acceptable candidate, he is making a legitimate use of the prerogatives confided to him. But when he sells or barters his vote, when he disposes of it to the highest bidder, like a merchantable commodity, he is clearly violating his trust and degrading his citizenship.

The enormity of the offence will be readily perceived by pushing it to its logical consequences:

First, Once the purchase of votes is tolerated or condoned or connived at, the obvious result is that the right of suffrage becomes a solemn farce. The sovereignty is no longer vested in the people, but in corrupt politicians or in wealthy corporations; money instead of merit becomes the test of success; the election is determined, not by the personal fitness and integrity of the candidate, but by the length of his own or his patron's purse; and the aspirant for office owes his victory, not to the votes of his constituents, but to the grace of some political boss.

Second, The better class of citizens will lose heart and absent themselves from the polls, knowing that it is useless to engage in a contest which is already decided by irresponsible managers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Third, Disappointment, vexation, and righteous indignation will burn in the breasts of upright citizens. These sentiments will be followed by apathy and despair of carrying out successfully a popular form of government. The enemies of the Republic will then take advantage of the existing scandals to decry our system and laud absolute monarchies. The last stage in the drama is political stagnation or revolution.

But, happily, the American people are not prone to despondency or to political stagnation, or to revolution outside of the lines of legitimate reform. They are cheerful and hopeful, because they are conscious of their strength ; and well they may be, when they reflect on the century of ordeals through which they have triumphantly passed. They are vigilant, because they are liberty-loving, and they know that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." They are an enlightened and practical people ; therefore are they quick to detect and prompt to resist the first inroads of corruption. They know well how to apply the antidote to the political distemper of the hour. They have the elasticity of mind and heart to rise to the occasion. They will never suffer the stately temple of the Constitution to be overthrown, but will hasten to strengthen the foundation where it is undermined, to repair every breach, and to readjust every stone of the glorious edifice.

In conclusion, I shall presume to suggest, with all deference, a brief outline of what appear to me the most efficient means to preserve purity of elections and to perpetuate our political independence.

Many partial remedies may be named. The main purpose of these remedies is to foster and preserve what may be called a Public Conscience. In the individual man, conscience is that inner light which directs him in the knowledge and choice of good and evil, that practical judgment which pronounces over every one of his acts, that it is right or wrong, moral or immoral. Now, this light and judgment which directs man in the ordinary personal affairs of life, must be his guide also in the affairs of his political life; for he is answerable to God for his political, as well as his personal, life.

The individual conscience is an enlightenment and a guide; and it is itself illumined and directed by the great maxims of natural law and the conclusions which the mind is constantly deducing from those maxims. Now, is there not a set of maxims

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and opinions that fulfil the office of guides to the masses in their political life?

The means which I propose are:

First, The enactment of strict and wholesome laws for preventing bribery and the corruption of the ballot-box, accompanied with condign punishment against the violators of the law. Let such protection and privacy be thrown around the polling booth that the humblest citizen may be able to record his vote without fear of pressure or of interference from those that might influence him. Such a remedy has already been attempted, with more or less success, in some States by the introduction of new systems of voting.

Second, A pure, enlightened, and independent judiciary to interpret and enforce the laws.

Third, A vigilant and fearless press that will reflect and create a healthy public opinion. Such a press, guided by the laws of justice and the spirit of American institutions, is the organ and the reflection of national thought, the outer bulwark of the rights and liberties of the citizen against the usurpations of authority and the injustice of parties, the speediest and most direct castigator of vice and dishonesty. It is a duty of the citizens of a free country not only to encourage the press, but to coöperate with it; and it is a misfortune for any land when its leading men neglect to instruct their country and act on public opinion through this powerful instrument for good.

Fourth, The incorporation into our school system of familiar lessons embodying a history of our country, a brief sketch of her heroes, statesmen, and patriots, whose civic virtues the rising generation will thus be taught to emulate. The duties and rights of citizens along with reverence for our political institutions should likewise be inculcated, as Dr. Andrews, President of Brown University, recommends in a recent article. There is danger that the country whose history is not known and cherished will become to the masses only an abstraction, or, at best, that it will be in touch with them only on its less lovable side, the taxes and burdens it imposes. Men lost in an unnatural isolation, strangers to the past life of their nation, living on a soil to which they hold only by the passing interests of the present, as atoms without cohesion, are not able to realize and bring home to themselves the claims of a country that not only *is,* but that was be-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fore them, and that will be, as history alone can teach, long after them.

Fifth, A more hearty celebration of our national holidays.

The Hebrew people, as we learn from Sacred Scripture, were commanded to commemorate by an annual observance their liberation from the bondage of Pharaoh and their entrance into the Promised Land. In nearly all civilized countries there are certain days set apart to recall some great events in their national history, and to pay honor to the memory of the heroes who figured in them. The United States has already established three national holidays. The first is consecrated to the birth of the "Father of his Country"; the second, to the birth of the nation; and the third is observed as a day of Thanksgiving to God for his manifold blessings to the nation. On those days, when the usual occupations of life are suspended, every citizen has leisure to study and admire the political institutions of his country, and to thank God for the benedictions that He has poured out on us as a people. In contemplating these blessings, we may well repeat with the Royal Prophet: "He hath not done in like manner to every nation, and His judgments He hath not made manifest to them."

If holidays are useful to those that are to the manor born, they are still more imperatively demanded for the foreign population constantly flowing into our country, and which consists of persons who are strangers to our civil institutions. The annually recurring holidays will create and develop in their minds a knowledge of our history and admiration for our system of government. It will help, also, to mould our people into unity of political faith. By the young, especially, are holidays welcomed with keen delight; and as there is a natural, though unconscious, association in the mind between the civic festivity and the cause that gave it birth, their attachment to the day will extend to the patriotic event or to the men whose anniversary is celebrated.

Sixth, The maintenance of party lines is an indispensable means for preserving political purity. One party watches the other, takes note of its shortcomings, its blunders and defects; and it has at its disposal the means for rebuking any abuse of power on the part of the dominant side, by appealing to the country at the tribunal of the ballot-box. The healthiest periods of the Roman Republic were periods of fierce political strife. The citizens of Athens were not allowed to remain neutral. They

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were compelled to take sides on all questions of great public interest. Not only was every citizen obliged to vote, but the successful candidate was bound to accept the office to which he was called, and to subordinate his taste for private life to the public interests.

England owes much of her greatness and liberty to the active and aggressive vigilance of opposing political camps. Political parties are the outcome of political freedom. Parties are not to be confounded with factions. The former contend for a principle, the latter struggle for a master.

To jurists and statesmen these considerations may seem trite, elementary, and commonplace. But, like all elementary principles, they are of vital import. They should be kept prominently in view before the people, and not obscured in a maze of wordy technicalities. They are landmarks to guide men in the path of public duty, and they would vastly contribute to the good order and stability of the Commonwealth if they were indelibly stamped on the heart and memory of every American citizen.

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A SOUTHERNER ON THE NEGRO QUESTION.

BY THOMAS NELSON PAGE, AUTHOR OF "MARSE CHAN," "MEH LADY," "ELSKET," ETC.

A FEW months ago that Englishman who is perhaps the closest student among his people of our American institutions, Professor James Bryce, gave in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW his views as to the Negro Problem.* He declared that the most serious problem which the people and the government of the United States have to deal with is the position of the colored population of the South.

No Southerner will gainsay Professor Bryce's declaration as to the gravity of this matter. It is true that a year ago—when the Lodge Bill was pending, and when the ratio of relative increase of the white and negro races was not yet known—the peril appeared to at least one part of the country more immediate than it has done since "the Force Bill," as the South termed it, failed and since the results of the census have become known. But the problem is serious enough now, and is the gravest one which we face to-day. What was thought of it at that time may be gathered from the attitude of the people of the South whilst the Lodge Bill was under discussion. Consideration of all other matters, whatever, practically ceased. The South alone understood what it meant.

Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts, speaking of the South on the floor of the Senate, on the 23d February, 1889, said: "The person hears the sound of my voice this moment who in his lifetime will see fifty million negroes dwelling in those States."

The proposition stated seems to us who know the negro to contain its own argument. We of the South who see them at short range are astonished that Senator Hoar and that great body

* "Thoughts on the Negro Problem," by Professor James Bryce, NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, December, 1891.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of people whose views he represents do not understand the perils of the situation. At one step more they confront the rest of the Anglo-American people; for the only thing that stands between the negro race and the people of the North to-day is the people of the South.

The chief difficulty in the solution of the question is to be found in the different views held as to it by the two sections. They do not understand it alike.

Two propositions may be safely affirmed; one, that there must be a grave error somewhere; the other, that there must be a right position, and the sooner the American people find it and plant themselves on it, the better for us and for those that come after us; the better for the negro race as well; for the future of the negro depends upon the white.

Perhaps no clearer or more authoritative exposition of the views held by the North on this question can be found than that set forth in an address before the Massachusetts Club of Boston on the 22d of February, 1890. The favor with which it was received by the class to whom it was delivered testifies the extent to which the question is misunderstood at the North. After negativing the Southern idea of the question, the speaker declares: "The problem is whether American citizens shall not enjoy equal rights in the choice of their rulers. It is not a question of the negroes' right to rule. It is simply a question of their right to choose rulers; and as in reconstruction days they selected more white men for office than men of their own race, they would probably do so now."

The view which the South takes of this question is that it is a great race question, on the correct solution of which depends not only the present salvation of the South, but the future of the nation. That there exists a race question of some sort must be apparent to every person who passes through the South. Where six millions of people of one color and with a certain history live in contact with ten or twelve millions of another color and with a widely different history there must of necessity be a race question.

The negro began his career as a citizen under heavy disadvantages, his ignorance being only one of them. He has not behaved unnaturally. Fresh from slavery he was enfranchised as a voter, and was drafted into the Union League under carpet-bag officers as an ally, through whom was to be secured the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

perpetual ascendency of "the party of the Union." With the same end in view the whites were disfranchised. It was a great mistake. Since then the real issue at the South has been the race issue. Other issues have arisen from time to time, but this has been the paramount issue.

The result is singularly anomalous. The feeling has not reached the point of personal hostility, at least, on the part of the whites; but as the older generation which knew the ties between the races in the relation of master and servant passes away the race feeling is perhaps growing intenser. The negro becomes more and more assertive. The white steadily becomes impressed more and more deeply with the conviction that upon the continued domination of his race depends not only the present but the future greatness of this country. He is not left to mere theory as to this. The history of the negro race, unhappily, furnishes an unanswerable argument, that, whatever a sentimental philanthropy may assert, there underlies the whole matter the potent and mysterious principle of race quality. Slavery will not alone account for it. Bondage cannot enthrall the mind. In the recorded experience of mankind, slavery alone has not repressed intelligence.

The negro has not progressed, not because he was a slave, but because he does not possess the faculties to raise himself above slavery. He has not yet exhibited the qualities of any race which has advanced civilization or shown capacity to be greatly advanced. What the future may bring forth no man may certainly foretell; it belongs to prophecy. We can only hope. But the past is fixed.

Where the negro has thriven it has invariably been under the influence and by the assistance of a stronger race. These wanting, he has inevitably and visibly reverted towards the original type.

Since the dawn of history the negro has been in one place or another—in Egypt, in Phœnicia, in Rome, and other countries—brought in contact with civilization. For over two hundred years he has been under the immediate influence of the most potent race of modern, if not of all, times, and within the sweep of the ripest period of the world's history. In New England he has not been a slave for a hundred years. The result there is instructive.

Dr. Henry M. Field is an extensive traveller, a close and wide

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

observer, an honest recorder, and the friend of the whole human race. He is a member of a Northern family of which New England may be justly proud. Speaking of the negro's condition he says : *

"Here we are doomed to great disappointment. The black man has every right which has belonged to his white neighbor; not only the natural rights which, according to the Declaration of Independence, belong to every human being—the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; but the right to vote and to have a part in making the laws. He could own his little home, and there sit under his own vine and fig tree, with none to molest or to make him afraid. His children could go to the same common schools and sit on the same benches, and learn the same lessons as white children. With such advantages a race that had natural genius ought to have made great progress in a hundred years. But where are the men that it should have produced to be the leaders of their people? We find not one who has taken rank as a man of action or a man of thought, as a thinker or a writer, as artist or poet, discoverer or inventor. The whole race has remained on a dead level of mediocrity. If any man ever proved himself a friend of the African race it was Theodore Parker, who endured all sorts of persecutions and social ostracism, who faced mobs and was hissed and hooted in public meetings for his bold championship of the rights of the negro race. But rights are one thing and capacity is another. And while he was ready to fight for them, he was very despondent as to their capacity for rising in the scale of civilization. *Indeed, he said in so many words,* '*In respect to the* power of civilization, the African is at the bottom, the American Indian next.' In 1857 he wrote to a friend: 'There are inferior races which have always borne the same ignoble relation to the rest of men and always will. In two generations what a change will be in the condition and character of the Irish in New England. But in twenty generations the negro will stand just where he is now, that is, if he will not have disappeared.'

"That was more than thirty years ago," proceeds Dr. Field. "But to-day I look about me here in Massachusetts, and I see a few colored men. But what are they doing? They work in the fields, they hoe corn, they dig potatoes, the women take in washing. I find colored barbers and white-washers, shoe blacks and chimney sweeps; but I do not know a single man who has grown to be a merchant or a banker, a judge or a lawyer, a member of the Legislature or a justice of the peace, or even a selectman of the town. In all these respects they remain where they were in the days of our fathers. The best friends of the colored race, of whom I am one, must confess that it is disappointing and discouraging to find that with all these opportunities they are little removed from where they were a hundred years ago!"

But suppose there have been a few lawyers and doctors, and even a judge or two, selected rather with a view to recognition of the complexion of their skins than the qualities of their minds, these are the exceptions which prove the rule, and not one has attained a point above mediocrity.

* "Sunny Skies and Dark Shadows," by Dr. Henry M. Field.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The history of the negro race in Liberia and Hayti has been even more disappointing to the hopes of his friends than elsewhere. In both of these countries a civilization was created for him. Liberia was founded for him by the Caucasian in as high hope as even was this Republic. Christendom gave its assistance and its prayers. How has the negro progressed there? Mr. Charles H. J. Taylor, late U. S. Minister to Liberia, a colored man himself, wrote an account of that country which was published in the Kansas City *Times*, of April 22, 1888. Not a factory, mill, or workshop, of any kind, he says, is to be found there. "They (the government) have no money or currency in circulation of any kind. They have no boats of any character, not even a canoe, the two gun-boats England gave them lying rotten on the beach." . . . . "Look from morn till night you will never see a horse, a mule, a donkey, or a broken-in ox. They have them not. There is not a buggy, a wagon, a cart, a slide, a wheelbarrow in the four counties. The natives carry everything on their heads." The whole picture presented is hopeless.

It is not better in Hayti. For nearly a hundred years the negro has been masquerading in governing Hayti, and a more fantastic mummery never degraded a land. Under negro rule San Domingo, once the queen of the Antilles, has sunk into a state of almost primeval barbarism. We have two recent pictures of Hayti, by Englishmen, both of whom assure us that they have no race antipathy; one James Anthony Froude, the historian, the other Sir Spencer St. John, for years British Resident at Hayti. They both agree. The picture presented in Sir Spencer St. John's work, "The Black Republic," is astounding, revolution succeeding revolution, and massacre succeeding massacre; the country once teeming with wealth, covered with beautiful villas and plantations, and with a considerable foreign commerce, now in a state of decay and ruin, without trade or resources of any kind; peculation and jobbery paramount in all public offices; barbarism substituted for civilization; voudoo worship springing up in place of Christianity, and human flesh oftener than once sold in the market place of Port-au-Prince, the capital. Sir Spencer St. John says that a Spanish colleague once said to him, "If we could return to Hayti fifty years hence, we should find the negresses cooking their bananas on the ruins of these warehouses." On which, he

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

remarks, "It is more than probable, unless in the meantime influenced by some higher civilization, that this prophecy will come true. The negresses are in fact cooking their bananas amid the ruins of the best houses of the capital."

These examples seem to establish the fact that the negro does not possess the elements of character, the essential qualifications to conduct a government even for himself, and that if reins of government be intrusted to his unaided hands he will fling reason to the winds and drive to ruin.

Were this, however, true only of Liberia and Hayti we might bear it with such philosophic composure as our philanthropy admits of. But the South has had a personal experience of the negro's rule. For eight years a number of the Southern States were partly, and three of them were wholly, given up to the control of the negroes, directed by leaders, at least, of undoubted ability, and sustained by the influence of the entire North. The white was disfranchised. The negro and his chosen leaders were invested with absolute power; the entire weight of government was, under the misapprehension born of the excitement which then reigned, thrown blindly in his favor. Then was the occasion which Mr. Cable selects for his illustration. The negro selected his own rulers. What was the result? Such a riot of folly and extravagance, such a travesty of government as was never witnessed save in those countries in which he had himself furnished the illustration. Carpet-bag rule, with the negro as its facile and ignorant instrument, inaugurated a new system of debauchery and crime.

Space will not admit of a detailed description; but a few facts will be sufficient. A more complete picture will be found in the series of carefully prepared papers, which appeared a year or two since entitled, "Noted Men on the Solid South," to which I refer, and to which I am indebted for much of my material in this branch of the subject.

The Louisiana State Lottery was one offspring of a misrule which proved strong enough to defy for years even the Federal Government.

Soon after Warmouth came into office in Louisiana he stated in his message of January 4, 1868, to his legislature, "Our debt is smaller than that of almost any State in the Union, with a tax roll of $251,000,000, and a bonded debt that can and will

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be reduced to $6,000,000." Two years later, "the census of 1870 showed the debt of the State to have increased to $25,021,734, and that of the parishes and municipalities to $28,065,770. Within a year the State debt was increased over half, and the local indebtedness had doubled. Louisiana, according to the census, stood in the matter of debt at the head of the Union."* This was but the beginning. The total cost of four years and five months of carpet-bag rule amounted to $106,023,337, or $24,040,088 per year. Taxation mounted up in proportion in some places to 7 and 8 per cent. of the assessed value. Dr. Henry M. Field cites a case reported to him where it was as high as 16 per cent. The public printing had in previous years cost about $37,000 a year. During the first two years of Warmouth's régime the New Orleans *Republican*, in which he was a large stockholder, received for public printing $1,140,881.77.† Time and space fail to tell of the rapine, the profligacy which existed. The taxable values of New Orleans between Warmouth's advent and Kellogg's exit fell from $146,718,790 to $88,613,930, a net decline of $58,104,860 in eight years, whilst real estate in the country parishes shrank in value from $99,266,839.85 to $47,141,696. So much for Louisiana.

In Mississippi the corruption was almost as great and the result almost as disastrous. In South Carolina it was even worse. The General Assembly which convened in Columbia in 1868 consisted of 72 whites and 85 negroes. In the House were 14 Democrats and in the Senate 7; the remaining 136 were Republicans. One of the first acts passed was anomalous. After defending the rights of negroes on railroads, in theatres, etc., it provided that if the person whose rights under the act were claimed to be violated was colored, then the universal rule of law was changed, and the burden of proof was on the defendant to establish innocence.

The public printing was also swelled expenses. The total cost of the printing in South Carolina under negro rule exceeded in one year by $122,932.13 the cost of like work in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Maryland together.‡

In 1860 the taxable values in the State amounted to $490,000,000 and the tax a little less than $400,000. In 1871 the

* Hon. B. J. Sage, in "Noted Men on the Solid South," p. 404.
† Ib., p. 508. ‡ Ib., p. 100.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

taxable values had been reduced to $184,000,000, and the tax increased to $2,000,000. In nineteen counties, taken together, 93,293 acres of land were sold in one year for unpaid taxes. After four years of carpet-bag Republican rule, the debt of the State had increased from $5,407,306 to $18,515,033. There had been no public works of any importance, and the entire thirteen millions of dollars represented nothing but unnecessary and profligate expenditures.*

These are simply statistics. No account has been taken of the imposition practised throughout the South during the period of negro domination; of the vast, incredible and wanton degradation of the Southern people by the malefactors, who, with hordes of ignorant negroes just from the bonds of slavery as their instruments, trod down the once stately South at their will. No wonder that Governor Chamberlayne, Republican and carpet-bagger as he was, should have declared, as he did in writing to the New England Society: "The civilization of the Puritan and Cavalier, of the Roundhead and Huguenot, is in peril." A survey of the field and a careful consideration of the facts have convinced me that I am within the domain of truth when I say that the Southern States, with the exception perhaps of one or two of the Border States, were better off in 1868, when reconstruction went into force, than they were in 1876, when the carpet-bag governments were finally overthrown; and that the eight years of negro domination cost the South more than the war, inclusive of the loss of values in slave property. I think if Mr. Cable and those who accept his theorem will study history, even as written only in statistics, taking no account, if they please, of the suffering and the degradation inflicted upon the white race during the period in which the South was under the dominion of the rulers selected by the negroes, they will find that there is not so much difference between the proposition which he formulates and that which the South states, when she declares that the pending question is one of race domination, on which depends the future salvation of the American people.

Twenty-seven years have rolled by since the negro was given his freedom; more than twenty years have passed since he was given a part in the government, and was taken up to be educated. The laws were so adapted that there is not now a negro under

*Mr. Hemphill's paper on South Carolina in "Noted Men on the Solid South," p. 102.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forty years old who has not had the opportunity to receive a public school education. The South has viewed his political course with suspicion, and in this direction has opposed him with all her resources; but she has not been mean or niggardly towards him. On the contrary, in every place, at all times, even while she was resisting and assailing him for his political action, she has displayed towards him in the expenditures for his education a liberality which in relation to her ability has amounted to lavishness.

The Rev. Dr. A. D. Mayo, eminent alike for his learning and philanthropy, and a Northern educator, declared not long ago: "No other people in human history have made an effort so remarkable as the people of the South in re-establishing their schools and colleges. Overwhelmed by war and bad government, they have done wonders, and with the interest and zeal now felt in public schools in the South, the hope for the future is brighter than ever." "Last year," he says, speaking in 1888, "these sixteen States paid nearly $1,000,000 each for educational purposes, a sum greater, according to their means, than ten times the amount now paid by most of the New England States." Virginia expended on her public schools from 1870–71 to 1890–91, according to the figures of Colonel F. G. Ruffin, Second Auditor of Virginia, taken from official sources, $22,759,249.38. Her negro schools, including school buildings and permanent improvements, cost her $5,380,513.65. For the year 1887–88 her negro schools cost her, by the same estimate, $400,000, of which the negroes paid about $60,000.

Governor Gordon, speaking of Georgia, in a recent address, said: "When her people secured possession of the State government, they found about six thousand colored pupils in the public schools, with the school exchequer bankrupt. To-day, instead of six thousand, we have over one hundred and sixty thousand colored pupils in the public schools, with the exchequer expanding and the schools multiplying year by year." He says further that the negroes pay one-thirtieth of the expense, and the other twenty-nine thirtieths are paid by the whites. The other Southern States have not been behind Virginia and Georgia in this matter.

Now, what has the negro accomplished in this quarter of a century? They are barbers, and white-washers, shoe-blacks and chimney sweeps. Here and there we find a lawyer or two, unhappily

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with their practice in inverse ratio to their principles, or now and then there is a doctor. But almost invariably these are men with a considerable infusion of white blood in their veins. And even these have in no single instance attained a position which in a white would be deemed above mediocrity. Fifteen years ago there were in Richmond, where I live, a number of negro tobacco manufacturers and other negro dealers. Now there are hardly any except undertakers. They have been losing ground as mechanics. Before the war, on every plantation, there were first-class carpenters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, etc. Half the houses in Virginia were built by negro carpenters. Where are they now? In Richmond there may be a few blacksmiths and a dozen or two carpenters; but where are the others? A great strike occurred last year in one of the large iron-works of the city of Richmond. The president of the company told me afterwards that, although the places at the machines were filled later on by volunteers, and although there were many negroes employed in the works who did not strike, it never occurred to either the management or to the negroes that they could work at the machines, and not one had ever suggested it.

The question naturally arises, Have they improved? Many persons declare that they have not. My observation has led to a somewhat different conclusion. Where they have been brought into contact with the stronger race under conditions in which they derived aid, as in cities, they have in certain directions improved; where they have lacked this stimulating influence, as in sections of the country where the association has steadily diminished, they have failed to advance. In the cities, where they are in touch with the whites they are, I think, becoming more dignified, more self-respecting, more reasonable; in the country where they are left to themselves I fail to see this improvement.

This improvement, however, such as it is, does not do away with the race issue. So far from it, it rather intensifies the feeling, certainly on the part of the negro, and makes the relation more strained. Yet it is our only hope. The white race, it is reasonably certain, is not going to be ruled by the negro either North or South. That day is far off, and neither Lodge bills nor any other bills can bring it until they can reverse natural law, enact that ignorance shall be above intelligence, and exalt feebleness over strength. The history of that race is a guaranty that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this cannot be. It has been a conquering race from its first appearance, like the Scandinavians of old,

"Firm to resolve and steadfast to endure."

The section of it which inhabits the United States is not yet degenerate. That part of it at the South is not. It is not necessary to recall its history. Let one who has not been generally regarded as unduly biassed in favor of the South speak for it. Senator Hoar, speaking of the people of the South on the floor of the Senate, in the speech already referred to, said :

"They have some qualities which I cannot even presume to claim in an equal degree for the people among whom I, myself, dwell. They have an aptness for command which makes the Southern gentleman, wherever he goes, not a peer only, but a prince. They have a love for home; they have the best of them, and the most of them, inherited from the great race from which they come, the sense of duty and the instinct of honor as no other people on the face of the earth. They are lovers of home. They have not the mean traits which grow up somewhere in places where money-making is the chief end of life. They have above all, and giving value to all, that supreme and superb constancy which, without regard to personal ambition and without yielding to the temptation of wealth, without getting tired and without getting diverted, can pursue a great public object, in and out, year after year and generation after generation."

This is the race which the negro confronts. It is a race which, whatever perils have impended, has always faced them with a steadfast mind.

Professor Bryce arrives at the only reasonable conclusion : that the negro be let alone and the solution of the problem be left to the course of events. Friendship for the negro demands this. A single outbreak would settle the question. To us of the South it appears that a proper race pride is one of the strongest securities of our nation. No people can become great without it. Without it no people can remain great.

The question now remains : What is to become of the negro ? It is not likely that he will remain in his present status, if, indeed, it is possible for him to do so. Many schemes have been suggested, none of them alone answerable to the end proposed. The deportation plan does not seem practicable, at present. It is easy to suggest theories, but much more difficult to substantiate them. I hazard one based upon much reflection on the subject. It is, that the negro race in America will eventually disappear, not in a generation or a century,—it may take several

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

centuries. The means will be natural. Certain portions of the Southern States will for a while, perhaps, be almost given up to him; but in time he will be crowded out even there. Africa may take a part; Mexico and South America a part; the rest will, as the country fills up, as life grows harder and competition fiercer, become diffused and will disappear, a portion by absorption into the stronger race, the residue by perishing under conditions of life unsuited to him.

Meantime he is here, and something must be done. In the first place let us have all the light that can be thrown on the subject. Form an organization to consider and deal with the subject, not in the spirit of narrowness or temper, but in a spirit of philosophic deliberation, such as becomes a great people discussing a great question which concerns not only their present, but their future position among the nations. We shall then get at the right of the matter.

Let us do our utmost to eliminate from the question the complication of its political features. Get politics out of it, and the problem will be more than half solved. Senator Hampton stated not long ago in a paper contributed by him, I think, to this REVIEW, *that, to get the negro out of politics, he would gladly* give up the representation based on his vote. Could anything throw a stronger light on the apprehension with which the negro in politics is regarded at the South?

There never was any question more befogged with demagogism than that of manhood suffrage. Let us apply ourselves to the securing some more reasonable and better basis for the suffrage. Let us establish such a proper qualification as a condition to the possession of the elective franchise as shall leave the ballot only to those who have intelligence enough to use it as an instrument to secure good government rather than to destroy it. In taking this step we have to plant ourselves on a broader principle than that of a race qualification. It is not merely the negro, it is ignorance and venality which we want to disfranchise. If we can disfranchise these we need not fear the voter, whatever the color. At present it is not the negro who is disfranchised, but the white. We dare not divide.

Having limited him in a franchise which he has not in a generation learned to use, continue to teach him. It is from the educated negro, that is, the negro who is more enlightened than

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the general body of his race, that order must come. The ignorance, venality, and superstition of the average negro are dangerous to us. Education will divide them and will uplift them. They may learn in time that if they wish to rise they must look to the essential qualities of good citizenship. In this way alone can the race or any part of the race look for ultimate salvation.

It has appeared to some that the South has not done its full duty by the negro. Perfection is, without doubt, a standard above humanity; but, at least, we of the South can say that we have done much for him; if we have not admitted him to social equality, it has been under an instinct stronger than reason, and in obedience to a law higher than is on the statute books: the law of self-preservation. Slavery, whatever its demerits, was not in its time the unmitigated evil it is fancied to have been. Its time has passed. No power could compel the South to have it back. But to the negro it was salvation. It found him a savage and in two hundred years gave seven million of his race a civilization, the only civilization it has had since the dawn of history.

We have educated him; we have aided him; we have sustained him in all right directions. We are ready to continue our aid; but we will not be dominated by him. When we shall be, it is our settled conviction that we shall deserve the degradation into which we shall have sunk.

THOMAS NELSON PAGE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RECIPROCITY AND THE FARMER.

BY THE HON. HILARY A. HERBERT, CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS.

WHEN the McKinley Bill, with its free sugar and high rates on manufactures, had gone over from the House and was pending in the Senate Mr. Blaine made a furious assault upon it. The ground of his attack was, that, while it raised the duties on many things the farmers consumed, it did not "open a market for another bushel of wheat or another barrel of pork"; and he further said, that free sugar would not "sweeten the pill." The remedy he suggested, and which he seemed to think would enable the farmer to take "the pill" without making mouths, was legislation by which "free sugar in the United States should be accompanied by free breadstuffs and provisions in Spanish America."

Congress did not in form accept Mr. Blaine's proposition. It made a compromise between his views and those of Mr. McKinley. It gave Mr. McKinley free sugar for the campaign of 1890. That left sugar, coffee, tea, and hides, all free; but, going in Mr. Blaine's direction, it required that the President, after January 1, 1892, should, whenever in his opinion the tariff laws of any country producing and exporting sugar, coffee, tea, or hides, were "reciprocally unequal and unreasonable," impose a tax of seven-tenths of one cent per pound and upwards on sugar, three cents per pound on coffee, ten cents per pound on tea, and one and one-half cents per pound on hides, the product of such country. Thus the essential basis on which these commercial arrangements are to stand remains as Mr. Blaine suggested. The reciprocating nations are to have over those not reciprocating the advantage of seven-tenths of a cent per pound on sugar, three cents on coffee, etc.

The difference is that Mr. Blaine proposed to retain the sugar

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tax, and release it only on the products of such countries as should grant us equivalents.

But Congress preferred to release duties on sugar and then arm the President with the threat to not only re-impose duties on this article, but also to tax the hides, tea, and coffee of such nations as should refuse to reciprocate. This was the scheme adopted, and the new markets to be sought were to be found, it was understood, chiefly in countries to the south of us. It was a complete programme : the home market for the manufacturer, new markets abroad for the farmer. Has the farmer reason to be satisfied with the bargain thus made in his name ?

Germany does not appear to have been in the mind of Mr. Blaine when the scheme was inaugurated. Nevertheless, under it we have made an agreement with that Empire, which, it is hoped, may be of benefit to our farmers.

But it must not be supposed that the removal by Germany of her restrictions against the introduction of our pork products resulted from the McKinley Bill. The President in his annual message said :

"Germany, Denmark, Italy, Austria, and France, in the order named, have opened their ports to imported American pork products. The removal of these restrictions in every instance was asked for, and given, solely upon the ground that we have now provided a meat inspection that should be accepted as adequate to the complete removal of the dangers, real or fancied, which had been previously urged."

The arrangement with Germany which followed, and which, on its face, was made in consideration of the continued introduction of free sugar, gives us no exclusive privileges.

Germany had, like us, a system of high-tariff duties that weighed heavily on her people. The outcry for cheaper food supplies was irresistible. Yielding to this, she was arranging with Austria-Hungary, Italy and Belgium to lower her tariffs on breadstuffs, provisions, etc., and she simply consented to extend the same rates to us. We are allowed to compete in her markets on equal terms with these and, perhaps, other countries. This we get, and nothing more.

It appears, indeed, so far as the published papers show, that Germany herself made the first move towards this arrangement, and it is by no means certain that she would not have consented to put us on the same footing with these other countries, even had no reciprocity law been adopted by us.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

These commercial agreements, let it be understood, are not treaties; they are only arrangements that can be, at any time, repealed by law. How will they affect us while in operation?

Fortunately for the purposes of this discussion, we have a reciprocity treaty with the Hawaiian Islands of many years' standing. It was made by, and has proven satisfactory to, the political party that is now negotiating these new treaties on like lines of policy.

The actual results of the Hawaiian treaty for thirteen years are before us, from 1877, when it took effect, to 1889 inclusive, carefully compiled by Mr. S. G. Brock, Government Statistician, in an official report, June 20, 1890. The figures used in discussing this treaty are from that report. The Hawaiian treaty admitted free of duty into the ports of the United States Hawaiian sugar, rice, etc. Sugar constituted the bulk of these importations. All agricultural and most manufactured articles from the United States were admitted free into the islands.

Under stimulus of the treaty our imports from these islands increased rapidly. In 1876, the year before it took effect, such imports were $1,376,681. In 1889 they amounted to $12,847,740. Exports also increased. In 1876 our exports to these islands were $724,267. In 1889 they footed up $3,336,040. This is the bright side of the picture, and it is painted in glowing colors by Mr. Claus Spreckels in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for March, 1891, where he highly extols "the wise and far-seeing policy embodied in the Hawaiian treaty." No one knew better than Mr. Spreckels the cost at which the tax-payers of the United States had maintained that treaty, for much of that cost had gone into his own pockets as profits upon sugar. As to that side of the question he was industriously silent. But Mr. Brock gives us the information, page 9 of his report, thus:

> "If the merchandise admitted free under the treaty had paid the duty levied upon the similar goods imported from other countries, the duty would have amounted to $5,452,311.97 for the fiscal year 1889, and to $43,898,978 for the thirteen years ending with that year, or since the reciprocity treaty has been in force."

This sum, $43,898,978, our consumers paid to the growers of Hawaiian sugar, rice, etc., as premiums on their products. To appreciate the exceptional fact that in this case the duty went to the foreigner, it must be borne in mind that these

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

islands furnished only about one-tenth of our imported sugar. On the other nine-tenths we paid a tax averaging 2.06 cents per pound. The consumer of duty-paid sugar of course paid to the importer the price it had cost to bring the sugar to our ports, plus the tax. And this enabled the importers of these free sugars to add also to their article the price of the tax, although they had never paid it; this for the plain reason that the supply of free sugar not being equal to the demand, the owner of such free sugar would always withhold it from market till the market price of the tax-paid article was offered. The tables collated in Mr. Brock's report, page 37, corroborate this reasoning, and show that the people of the Pacific coast did not save a penny in the price of their sugar by reason of the treaty. Every dollar of the $43,000,000 of taxes released on Hawaiian sugar went into the pockets of the producers of that article, Mr. Claus Spreckels and others. And so it would have been if the sugar imported free of duty had amounted to nine-tenths instead of one-tenth of our total imports. This brings us to see clearly that if we impose an import tax on sugar and rely to any appreciable extent on taxed sugars to complete our supply, no exceptions in favor of particular countries, giving them free access to our markets, will avail to reduce the price of the product of these favored countries in the American market below the price of the tax-paid article.

It will be seen that we have not taken the trouble to ascertain the relatively pitiful sum of duties released to our people by the Hawaiians. We simply put against our actual losses, in release of duties, the full values of all our exports. Balancing the account for thirteen years, and counting in those exports that would have gone to the islands without any treaty, as well as those that went because of it, the sum total of all our exports for this period is $35,870,801. Deducting this sum from the $43,898,978 of duties released, we have $8,028,177, which we could have realized as clear profit by purchasing and destroying all our merchandise exported to the Hawaiian Islands during the period in question.

The treaty grew worse for us year by year. Our largesses stimulated the production of Hawaiian sugar and rice, and each year we released more and more of duties, which under a sounder policy would have gone into our treasury to pay Government ex-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

penses, thus enabling us to reduce taxation. Our people at large would have profited immensely if the Protectionist, who once wished for a wall of fire around our country to keep out foreign trade, had been permitted in 1876 to erect and maintain his flaming structure between us and the Sandwich Islands.

The results grow worse still when looked at from the standpoint of the farmer. Farm products constitute usually three-fourths of all exports from the United States; yet of this Hawaiian market, opened up for him and paid for at such a fearful cost, the farmer has had less than one-fourth. Out of the $3,336,040 exports from the United States in 1889, breadstuffs, provisions, and animals foot up only $759,653. Is the farmer to fare any better in those new Central and South American markets we hear of? South America is a vast continent, with much the same climates as our own, and it has millions of square miles of cheap and fertile lands that, when brought into cultivation, bid fair not only to supply its own wants, but to rival the United States in the bread and meat markets of the world.

Mr. W. E. Curtis, chief of the Bureau of the American Republics, in an official report sent in to the last Congress, arguing then for subsidies, said: "Chili has already driven the flour of the United States off the west coast of South America, and now supplies Peru, Ecuador, and Bolivia. The California millers are also beginning to feel the competition of Chili at Panama and along the west coast of Central America, and unless cheaper freights are offered from San Francisco southward we shall lose a large and lucrative market. The Argentine Republic was an importer of breadstuffs a few years since, but the agricultural development of the pampas is so rapid and extensive that the present product not only supplies the local demand, but furnishes an annual surplus, valued at $14,000,000, for export. The same is true of Uruguay, which has also become an exporter of wheat and flour within the last two or three years, and has an enormous productive capacity, now being rapidly developed by Italian emigrants. The time is not far distant when these three countries will deprive the United States of the greater portion of its flour market in the West Indies and South America, and will enter into active competition with us in Europe."

The first arrangement we made was with Brazil, admittedly the most populous and wealthy of the countries to the south of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

us. Let us examine that agreement. We admit free of duty all sugar, molasses, coffee, and hides, the product of Brazil. Brazil admits from the United States, free of duty, certain articles; and certain others with 25 per cent. off. Tables appended to the published copy of the agreement show the character and extent of our present, as well as of possible, markets in that country. The rates given enable us to calculate, upon a given hypothesis, exact results.

These tables show that if we should supply Brazil in full with everything she was annually importing from all countries when our commercial arrangement was made we should have a market there for products valued at $58,635,182. Deducting amount of our exports at that time we should then have a market for $53,-204,650. Of this new market our farmers would get $8,433,000; about seventeen per cent. of the whole. Will they secure even that? The remissions of duty in our favor are all small. On agricultural products the range is from one and one-quarter per cent. on lard up to twenty cents on other products. The rate on cotton-seed oil is higher, but is unimportant, as this article is not, and never will be, largely imported into that cotton-growing country. The ad valorem advantage given us, averaged on all our exports to that country, as shown by the tables, is less than ten per cent.

When this arrangement with Brazil was proclaimed it was hailed with delight. Some of the farmers of the West, in the exuberance of their rejoicings, formed themselves into a new order called the Knights of Reciprocity. It might have been well if these gentlemen had waited for results.

The agreement had been in operation nine months on the 31st of December, 1891. Full and fair notice was given to shippers before it went into effect, and the results are that from April 1 to December 1, 1891, as compared with the like months of the preceding year, our exports to Brazil were:

	1890.	1891.
Total domestic	$10,071,871	$7,063,222
Total agricultural	5,208,001	4,682,546

Here was an actual falling off in our exports of farm products under the arrangement in nine months of $525,455. Mr. Hale, speaking on this question, said in the Senate on January 28, that Brazil had "been in a condition of uneasiness and ferment ever since the treaty went into effect," etc.; but this ex-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cuse will not do. During the period in question she bought of us, as statistical figures show, $2,009,000 of other than farm products more than during the corresponding period of 1890. And she sold us of her products during that same time the enormous sum of $79,283,244. Instead of buying of us farm products she did not need, she sent this money to Europe to buy there the cheap manufactured goods she does need. Nor is it an answer that European countries took our last wheat crop. Europe every season draws alike from North and South America. If sufficient advantage had been given us, our provisions would have gone to South America to take the place of wheat going to Europe.

Brazil, if we except an insignificant portion of Guiana, is the only country on the whole continent to the south of us that has responded to our advances. Government figures have given us the results, and so we safely say that reciprocity, so far as South America is concerned, is to our farmers but a mirage in the desert. In Central America and the islands of the Caribbean Sea the outlook for the farmer is better, although extravagantly over-estimated.

The conventions covering Cuba, Puerto Rico and San Domingo went into operation September 1, 1891, and we have the statistics covering our trade with these countries under the agreements for the four months ending December 31 last. Grouping these three with Brazil, and aggregating the trade with them all under reciprocity, as compared with that of corresponding periods for the previous year when we had no commercial arrangements, we have the following results:

1891. Exports other than agricultural to reciprocating countries.....	$12,016,066
1890. " " " " " " "	7,892,531
1890. Increase under reciprocity.....	$4,123,535
1891. Export agricultural products to reciprocating countries.....	$7,832,531
1890. " " " " " "	7,321,057
Increase.....	$511,474

This shows a gain in the sale of farm products under reciprocity of seven per cent., whereas the increase in the exports of other products, principally manufactures, is a fraction over 39 per cent.—over five to one against the farmer.

The average annual gain in the export of agricultural products to all countries for four years back has been about seven per cent.

There is a maxim in equity that one is presumed to intend to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

do that which he does do. Applying this equitable rule and presuming that the statesmen who devised this scheme knew the economic conditions prevailing in these countries, the conclusion follows that instead of hunting new markets abroad for the farmer they were really seeking fresh fields for American manufactures.

Besides Germany and the four countries from which we have these returns, the President has made arrangements with Salvador and certain British West India Islands. Three other small states in Central America are expected to come in soon.

The first of January, when the President was directed to begin his tariff war on recusant nations, has passed. Countries to the south of us importing two hundred and forty-eight millions have treated with us. Others whose imports are three hundred and seventy-four millions still stand out. The President, by letter, has notified Venezuela, Hayti, Nicaragua, Guatemala and Colombia, besides Spain for the Philippine Islands, and Austria-Hungary that, on March 15 next, he will, unless they reciprocate, impose such duties on their products as the law requires. Why he should except any country, unless it be England and Belgium, is not apparent, for it is the boast of the Protectionists that all other countries have protective-tariff laws. Certainly the reciprocating countries will demand that all nations shall be treated alike. How else can they get what they bargained for, a better market than others who have made no contract?

If the President shall take this view of the case we will soon have

On tea a tax of	$13,456,000
On coffee a tax of	15,000,000
On hides (estimated) a tax of	8,000,000
Total	$36,456,000

This tax is estimated on the whole amount of our imports of these for the reason that our consumers must pay the tax on the taxed products and an increased price for the articles brought in free. The rule deduced from the Hawaiian treaty is, it will be remembered, that the cost price of the tax-paid article will regulate the market so long as the importations of the free article of like character are clearly insufficient to supply the demand. That rule will apply to tea, because we have arranged for no free tea; to hides, because we have arranged for only four million dollars of free hides and we import twenty-seven millions; to coffee, because we

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

import ninety-six millions, whereas the reciprocating countries bring us only sixty-three millions. The increased price we pay to the favored people for their products is the consideration for their concessions.

And here it may be interesting to glance again at the arrangement with Brazil. The concessions she made to us, calculated according to the tables published with the commercial arrangement, amounted to $576,000; yet the tax which we will remit on coffee alone to Brazil, on the basis of last year's imports, will be $9,722,000. We have seen, too that the total market in that country for agricultural products not already occupied by us was $8,433,000; and we have seen also, that instead of gaining any portion of this we are losing even that which we had.

As to sugar, considering that reciprocating countries only lack now $10,000,000 of sending us what we need, it is probably true that they will eventually supply us fully, and by their competition keep down the price of sugar as now to the level of prices elsewhere. Then not a pound of sugar will come to us from peoples not reciprocating. They cannot afford to pay the tax. At this point it may be, too, that the reciprocating nations will, some of them, tire of their bargains; and certain it is, that the ininducement for outsiders to come inside our sugar ring will cease.

What is to be the effect of discriminating against the nations that refuse our terms? The tea-growing countries have so far all refused. We will tax their tea, pay more for our breakfasts, and nobody will be hurt except ourselves. But besides the reciprocating countries there are 17 peoples sending us sugar, 31 sending us coffee, and 41 supplying us with hides. What will all these do but make agreements in self-defence to divert their trade into other channels? Who can measure the friction, the ill-feeling, the disturbance of trade relations, and even of political amities that are to result from this scheme? What can Nicaragua say if a proclamation is levelled at her products, and not against the coffee of Peru; and what will the Argentines say if their hides are taxed, while the hides of Chili or Ecuador escape?

The political enmity now existing between France and Italy, and which has caused the latter to join the Dreibund between herself, Austria, and Germany, has grown largely out of a reciprocity

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

treaty. Spain and France are quarrelling over a similar question. Mr. Foster said recently in a speech in New York that no nation could make reciprocity treaties that had not a protective tariff. He ought to have said that no nation except one that has a protective tariff has need of such treaties. If he had said this he could have proven the truth of his remark by pointing to the difference between the trade of Great Britain and of the United States with the very countries we are seeking to capture. The United Kingdom buys from Latin America eighty-nine millions; she sells there one hundred and seventy-seven millions, exporting two for one without making a threat or paying a dollar of bounty. We buy from the same countries two hundred and seven millions and sell them ninety millions; more than two to one against us, and then when we enter the field to buy and threaten our way into these markets from which we have excluded ourselves by our own laws, we boast that no nation can tax its own people to pay bounties to foreign nations except one that has such laws as we have. Certainly not.

How different all this is from that just and fair and profitable reciprocity with all the world which Jefferson had in mind when he declared for "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations—entangling alliances with none!"

HILARY A. HERBERT.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OUR NATIONAL DUMPING-GROUND.

A STUDY OF IMMIGRATION.

BY THE HON. JOHN B. WEBER, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF IMMIGRATION, AND CHARLES STEWART SMITH, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW YORK CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

THE HON. JOHN B. WEBER:

THE subject of immigration is beginning to attract attention, but as we have not yet passed through the preliminary stage of public discussion, the drastic legislation manifested in the first impulse of the public mind is not likely to materialize this winter. Inquiry, I believe, will lead to the conclusion that the evils of immigration are purely imaginary in some features, greatly exaggerated in others, and susceptible of nearly complete remedy by the amendment of existing laws.

The immigration problem will eventually settle down to the consideration of the following points:

Is this country made the "dumping-ground" of the refuse material of the Old World, and, if so, to what extent do the authorities aid such movement? Do we wish to reject the bad without reference to its effect upon the good?

What system, if any, can be devised which will enable us to sift the grades, accept the desirable, and reject the undesirable?

Is it wise to stop all immigration or to diminish its volume by methods that do not materially affect the influx of the unproductive kind, and yet decrease that element which by reason of age and vigor is the most productive?

The investigation of the subject by a Commission, of which I was a member, specially appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury to visit Europe for that purpose, demonstrates that at the present time in the countries which I visited, viz., France, Belgium, Holland, Germany and Austria, neither governments nor

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

societies, directly or systematically, transport their paupers, criminals, or other defectives to this country. In Russia, which is another of the countries investigated, governmental persecution impoverishes and expels the Jewish people. The constitutional vagabond of Europe does not emigrate. The slums are sluggish, and are seldom so agitated that the filth is flung across the sea. Individual instances occur, but as compared with the grand total of immigration, the percentage is infinitesimally small, and these cases can, by additional legislation, be almost perfectly covered.

The general character of eligible immigrants arriving here is substantially the same as that of past years, the large percentage of "prepaids" furnishing on this point evidence of an unmistakable nature. Prepaid tickets are tickets purchased in the United States and sent to relatives and friends on the other side, who, it is fair to assume, being members of the same family, are in a manner vouched for as desirable. If they are in respect of general quality similar to the pioneers who have so materially aided in the development of our natural resources, why should it not be assumed that their coming will continue to add to the national wealth, unless a change of conditions has been reached? Has such a change occurred?

Our resources have hardly been touched, certainly the point of exhaustion has not been approached, so that development is feasible and desirable. We are told, however, that the cities are overcrowded and that a vast army willing to labor is unemployed. The precise or reasonably close approximation of this number is difficult of ascertainment. It is as easy to state it at two millions as at one million. That there should be any considerable number of unemployed is deplorable, but it is a condition which, in greater or less degree, has existed as far back as I can remember, and probably always will exist at certain periods, particularly in the large cities. Immigration contributes to the overcrowding of the city of course, although two-thirds of the arrivals continue to go West, most of them to farms. In point of fact, the chief immigration into the cities is due to the emigration from our own rural districts. This condition exists in Europe as well as here, and so alarming has it grown there that in Germany legislation to check and prevent it is talked of as probable this winter. There is something incongruous in the statements published in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the same edition of an American newspaper, that farms are being abandoned in New England, that an army of men willing to work are unemployed in the cities, and that the grain crop is so bountiful in Dakota that farmers are offering from $2.50 to $3 per day for harvesters. There is a faultiness in the distribution of labor, and this demands and should receive early attention and consideration. I do not believe the conditions of prosperity in the rural districts have retrograded, but it is obvious that the city has marched faster in progress and improvement. Their relative positions have changed. Wealth has increased faster, attractions have grown greater, hours of labor have been reduced, living has become better, educational facilities have improved in a far greater degree in the city than in the country. The fact is, we are moving so fast that the readjustments continually required cannot keep up with the changing conditions, and friction and individual suffering are unavoidable. By means of organization labor has improved and elevated its status, thus widening the distance between its own position and that of the farmer. The more labor advances in the cities, whether by reason of organization or by stopping immigration, the greater the exodus from country to city.

It is charged that foreigners furnish a larger percentage of paupers and criminals than the native element. This is probably true, but it is hardly because they are foreigners, but because they are of the poorer half of society, and consequently less able to cope with misfortune or to withstand temptation. It is not so creditable to a rich man to refrain from stealing a loaf of bread as it is to a hungry one. Wealthy Americans would not be as numerous if it had not been for the immigration of so many Europeans.

About fifty years ago the American or "Know-nothing" party was formed in this country. Many honest men joined it, sincerely believing that our interests were being jeopardized by the increasing arrival of foreigners; that we were rushing headlong to destruction, and that the safety of our institutions rested solely upon the success of that organization. The party did not succeed, however, but the republic still exists, and next year we expect to show to the world the marvellous progress of our country at an exposition held in a city, which at the time the Know-nothing party existed was but little more than a barren prairie,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but now numbers over a million of people, while the political organization which was so fearful of the destruction of our republican institutions has perished, leaving nothing as a monument of existence save the lesson of warning to posterity to avoid racial and religious bigotry in the formation and conduct of political parties.

The safety of this country respecting the influx of strangers to our shores lies in the supply being drawn from various countries, whereby nationalities are blended, the best characteristics of each being retained and a high type of physical strength produced, the most desirable foundation of mental quality. It would be unfortunate if the bulk of our immigrants came from one country. The best justification for the prohibition of the Chinese is that not only are they of a different race and in no wise beneficial to us in the assimilative process, but they are so numerous that if once the ball is set in motion they will pour in upon us in such vast numbers as to "China-ize" America. We are not so threatened by other countries. We are in no danger of being Germanized, Frenchified, Italianized or Europeanized. The sharp corners of the various nationalities coming to us are largely rounded off by contact with each other rather than with Americans. For a time their intimacies are with their own countrymen or other foreigners who preceded them and who have already become to some extent Americanized, but it does not take long to graft Americanism upon sound, vigorous European stock. We aim to absorb the best ideas of other lands, to reject the weaknesses and fallacies of the old world; and actual contact with so many nationalities gives us the superior advantage to which, I believe, we are largely indebted for the splendid results of which we rightfully boast.

Consular inspection is regarded as a cure for many of the immigration evils which, as already stated, I believe are exaggerated and largely imaginary. The fundamental idea of such inspection is the personal examination in Europe of the intending emigrant by our consuls and the medical experts under their supervision, with the addition of certificates from the home authorities to establish character. The supporters of this plan may be divided into three classes:

First, Those who believe that such a system will better sift and exclude the undesirable, but who are in favor of the immigration of the good element.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Second, Those who believe that this country is in a greater or less degree made the dumping-ground of Europe, and who, to prevent this, would favor shutting off the whole stream because of the impure little rivulet which trickles into it.

Third, Those who fancy that closing the gates will reduce competition and increase demand in their class; that direct complete restriction will not secure legislative sanction, and who therefore favor that indirect method which promises to interpose the greatest obstacles and the most serious hindrances.

This article is entirely too brief to discuss in detail the feasibility and practicability of Consular inspection in Europe. The subject has been treated at length in the report of the Commission sent to Europe to investigate immigration, which was recently submitted to the Secretary of the Treasury. As one of that Commission, the conclusions I reached were unfavorable to Consular inspection; and these conclusions, briefly stated, are: that such inspection is not practicable or feasible, and will not effect a better sifting and rejection of defectives, but will facilitate the admission of the undesirable, and hinder and obstruct the desirable; that in districts where possible, because of the limited emigration, it is not necessary; that as regards the excluded classes, except as to convicts and paupers, detection is as easy here as abroad, and in some cases more so; that in regard to character the certificate of foreign local authorities must be the basis; that these officials cannot be compelled to certify, and, as their desire is to retain the good and facilitate the going of the defective, their certification may prove to be an expensive fiction; that it will create a brokerage in selling to objectionable persons certificates obtained by eligible ones; that the defects of local certification are already on exhibition in the case of the Italians, who in order to emigrate must have passports, which, under their laws, are not granted to criminals, many of whom, according to the statement of one of our consuls, have obtained certificates of clean character under assumed names, known to the authorities to be false; that the expense of $500,000 annually will be necessary to prove Consular inspection a failure; and that a better system is available, which will almost entirely, and more certainly, cure the real evils existing without imposing unnecessary burdens upon those who are believed to be valuable additions to our population.

The foregoing conclusions, as well as the following suggested

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

system and additional legislation, are based upon the theory that the desire is to sift immigration, to admit the good and reject the bad. If the American people wish to restrict immigration without reference to quality, if the desire be to simply reduce the total number, I frankly admit that, in my opinion, Consular inspection will accomplish that object. But I assume that our people have no intention to shirk the question and by cumbersome and expensive machinery to do by indirection that which they can do by direct methods.

The suggestions referred to are as follows :

Perfect existing statutes where they are weak.

Continue a rigid inspection at our ports ; guard the frontiers, especially on the north, for the putting up of bars at our seaports will drive the current of undesirables to Canada only to come across the border.

Place the expense of all returned immigrants upon steamship companies, whom self-interest will force to look for reimbursement to their sub-agents, who have a personal knowledge of the qualifications of intending immigrants better than any one else, and who would have a direct pecuniary concern in the return of a defective ; make sub-agents in this country responsible for the sale of prepaid tickets, estimated to be nearly 60 per cent. of the whole ; then up to the time of their acquiring citizenship hold all aliens liable to compulsory return to the country to which they owe allegiance, or to the ports from whence they came ; expelling those convicted abroad of crime, upon discovery, those convicted here, after serving sentence, and paupers, as soon as they reach the implied condition ; this status to continue until the burdens of our citizenship have been assumed and its privileges obtained. At present an alien may enjoy about all the benefits and protection of our citizenship while avoiding its heaviest obligations.

Foreign governments would expel an American if he fell into a state of pauperism or were convicted of crime, and this is a kind of reciprocity upon which parties in this country would not be likely to divide. This suggested method would not place any obstacle in the way of those whom it is desirable to add to our population. It is feasible and practicable, which the other plan is not. It would relieve us of paupers, when they reached or disclosed the pauper state. It would rid us of convicts upon discovery, and of criminals as soon as they served sentence. We

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are under no moral obligation to provide shelter, furnish maintenance, or extend the protection of government to those not fitted to bear the burdens of citizenship, or who by their own misconduct have forfeited the acquirement of its privileges, and we can prescribe such legal obligations as seem necessary for self-protection. We try no visionary experiments, we follow no theoretical plan, but adopt that which nearly all Europe practises; we disturb no traditions of our fathers, nor assail the sentiment that this country is the home of the free and the asylum of the oppressed, for it was never intended to extend its privileges so as to embrace criminals and paupers.

For many years the tide of immigration has set this way, during which time our country has challenged admiration wherever our history was understood and our progress known. By reason of this incoming, our almost limitless resources have been partially developed, forests levelled, railroads built, and canals dug, while cities have sprung up, and the wilderness has been made to blossom, and fields to groan with the weight of grain to feed not only our own vast population, but to supply a large surplus to the toilers across the sea. It may be curious to some, but it is nevertheless true that the continued influx of foreigners has elevated rather than depressed the labor status of their predecessors. Americans, except in the early days, have done very little hard manual labor. When the foreigner came in, the native engineered the jobs, the former did the shovelling. The American in every walk and condition of life (politics, perhaps, occasionally excepted) has been "boss" ever since. The foreigner plows and sows, the native reaps; the one builds railroads, the other runs them and waters the stock; one digs canals, the other manages the boats; one burrows in the mines, the other sells the product, and so on through all the various vocations. This is not, however, because one is a foreigner and the other an American, but because the latter is keener, brighter, and intellectually stronger, and these qualities keep him in the lead and—out of the almshouse.

First the German did the digging (going back to the time when I began to take notice of the evolution of nationalities in this country), then the Irishman crowded him out of the ditch, not downward, however, but upward to a higher level; then came the Pole and the Hungarian

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Slovak, and the Irishman was advanced. Following these came the Italian, elevating his predecessors, and, as we have drawn the line on the Chinaman, he (the Italian) promises to remain for a time the hewer of wood and the drawer of water. Stop this stream, and where will the supply come from to make good not only the waste by death, but the needs of the continued expansion and development of our still hardly touched natural resources? Stop the stream, and where will the new material come from which with a little training and experience develops into useful domestic help? At the Labor Bureau connected with the New York Immigration Station you will generally find three mistresses for every arriving servant girl, and every mail brings appeals from all over the country asking for female help. We must not be deceived into believing that we can continue to receive the women if we reject the men.

Consular inspection will prevent the emigration, from every country in Europe except Great Britain, of men within the military age, the most active and productive period of life, and send to us the quite young and the old. Immigrant girls may not be overwise; natural instincts, however, prompt them to protect the young and respect the aged, but also to *marry* the men whom foreign powers desire and need for soldiers as props to sustain monarchical governments. We cannot have the women without the men, and before shutting off the most desirable, we had better consider where the future supply is to come from. Natural increase will not furnish it, for Americans do not raise families, and such is the remarkable influence of association, such the powerful effect of contact with American civilization, that foreigners soon learn that it is not the proper thing to be bothered with children. This is an evil destructive both of morals and health, and attention to it would have been forced upon us long before this, had it not been for the new blood that makes up the loss. France is at a standstill because of this evil, and her statesmen are justly alarmed. Deduct from the increase of population for the last decade, as shown by the recent census, the number of immigrants and their increase after landing during that period, and our boast over the growth of this country—for the statistics of population always figure in these claims—would be changed to a wail.

Congress will hardly amputate the foot to get rid of a corn.

JOHN B. WEBER.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHARLES STEWART SMITH, ESQ.:

IMMIGRATION, whether following the natural law of selection or forced by persecution, has been from earliest historic times the law and condition of human progress ; and this grand movement of the human race, starting from its cradle in the East, account for it as we may, has flowed uniformly westward by some impulse that has had the strength of the law of gravitation. Exceptional diversions from the westerly direction are observable, like the irruption of the northern hordes of barbarians who, attracted by plunder, assailed and finally overthrew the colossal power of Rome, and settled in her dismembered territories. Again, incidental currents are marked, such as the settlement and occupation of Australia, prompted at first by the discovery of gold, and afterwards sustained by the colonizing instincts of the English people.

The loss or gain to the countries sending forth the immigrants and the relative advantages or disadvantages to those receiving them is an interesting study. For example : The expulsion of the Moors from Spain under the penalty of death, prompted by a fanatical desire for religious unity, was successfully accomplished ; but the result was the ruin of that country, for the Moors were the principal skilled workers in manufactures, commerce, agriculture and architecture ; and the splendid monuments of Moorish genius alone remained to tell the story of national decay.

The present apparent determination of the Russian government to force the emigration of its Jewish subjects, with a savage intolerance which has excited the attention and protest of the civilized world, will be likely to produce disaster to the commercial and financial interests of that empire ; indeed, the circumstances attendant upon the late Russian loan point already to this result, for not only the purse but the press of Continental Europe is under Hebrew control. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes drove from France the flower of her population and the most accomplished of her artisans, and compelled them to find in Germany homes to which they were welcomed and where they founded industries which have since become national. The historic answer to this stupendous blunder and crime of Louis XIV. was made when the Germanized descendants of the French Huguenots marched with the victorious German army under the shadow of the Arc de Triomphe into the centre of the French capital.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The apparently insignificant and unnoticeable immigration of the Pilgrims from England to this country in the time of the Stuarts has proved to have been the beginning of the most important migratory movement of our race since the beginning of the Christian era, if not during all the world's history; the emigration of one million Jewish slaves from Egypt, under Moses, can only be compared with it in historic importance and development.

In 1793 Washington expressed his disbelief in encouraging immigration on a large scale. On the contrary De Tocqueville in 1835, with a larger vision, wrote concerning America, "No power on earth can close upon the immigrant that fertile wilderness which offers resources to all industry and a refuge from all want."

My purpose is to inquire into the effect, during the present century, of the increasing stream of immigration upon the social and material interests of the United States, and the voluminous statistics prepared under the direction of the Treasury Department are partially repeated to give emphasis to the situation.

In the absence of records of immigration to this country prior to 1820, it has been estimated that 250,000 immigrants arrived from the close of the Revolutionary War to 1820; the number of alien passengers from 1820 to 1855, inclusive, was 4,212,624, and the number of immigrants from 1856 to 1890, inclusive, was 11,188,556, making (after allowance for sojourners) a grand total of 15,427,657 immigrants who arrived in the United States from the close of the Revolutionary War to 1890. The leading nationalities composing this number are shown by the following figures:

Germany	4,504,128	France	366,346
Ireland	3,481,074	Russia and Poland	324,892
England	2,430,380	Scotland	323,823
Sweden and Norway	925,031	Switzerland	171,269
Austria-Hungary	434,488	Denmark	142,517
Italy	388,558		

From 1881 to 1890, inclusive, the total number of immigrants was 5,246,613, which it will be observed was over 50 per cent. of the entire immigration from the close of the Revolutionary War to 1881. The largest immigration occurred in 1882, when 788,992 immigrants arrived at our ports; the next largest volume was in the preceding year, when the number was 669,431.

The ages of the immigrants arriving from 1881 to 1890, inclusive, show that 21.4 per cent. of the total number were under

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

15 years of age, 68.1 per cent. were between 15 and 40 years of age, and 10.5 per cent. were over 40 years of age; and the occupations of these immigrants were classified as follows:

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Professional	25,257	1,749	27,006
Skilled	514,552	25,859	540,411
Miscellaneous	1,833,325	245,810	2,079,135
Not stated	73,327	42,830	116,157
Without occupation	759,450	1,724,454	2,483,904
Total	3,205,911	2,040,702	5,246,613

The "professional" class embraces musicians, teachers, clergymen, artists, lawyers, physicians, etc.; the "skilled" includes those engaged in forty or more different occupations, trades, etc.; and the "miscellaneous" represents laborers, farmers, servants and merchants. If we add to the class "without occupation" the number of those whose occupation is not stated we arrive at a grand total of 2,600,061, or nearly 50 per cent. of the whole number of immigrants who arrived during the last decade. Of this total who were apparently without occupation 1,767,284 were females, of whom 537,007 were under 15 years of age; and there were also in the class "without occupation" 579,715 males who were under 15 years of age.

The number of Japanese immigrants from 1861 to 1891, inclusive, was 3,672, but a very large proportion of them have returned; the census of 1890 gives a total of 1,099 in the United States. No record exists of arrivals from Mexico and the British American possessions.

The total arrival of Chinese from 1821 to 1890 was 290,655. The largest number in any decade was from 1871 to 1880, inclusive, which amounted to 123,201. The census of 1880 gave the total number in the United States at 105,000, of which 75,000 were in California; and it appears that arrivals since then have been more than offset by departures, as the census of 1890 gives the Chinese population of California as 3,318 less than in 1880, and it is estimated that the entire Chinese population in the United States to-day is about 100,000. In the year 1882 this insignificant number of so-called heathen frightened the then 52,000,000 of inhabitants into the passage of an act by Congress, under the influence of political clamor, excluding the Chinese laborers, and deprived the country of this moderate influx of patient and effective workers. The act was a disgrace to our boasted civilization, and an affront to a great and friendly nation of 450,000,000 of people, who have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

always made scholarship the road to power and preferment, and whose artistic productions have excited the wonder of the Western world and furnished models for Europe and America to copy. China knows how to bide her time, and her answer to our exclusion act, which was passed with slight diplomatic courtesy, will yet come in accordance with the dignity and self-respect of that nation.

By the census returns of 1880 our population was 50,155,783, of whom 6,679,943, or 13.32 per cent. of the whole population, were foreign born. The figures of the last census on this class are not yet available ; but estimating the foreign-born population at about 10,000,000 the percentage is about 16 per cent. of the total population of 62,622,250.

If I am correct, that the returns of the eleventh census will show that the foreign-born population of the United States now amounts to about 10,000,000, and if we assume that one-fifth of that number, or 2,000,000, are wage-earners at the rate of $1.00 per diem on the average, then the foreign-born of our population alone, without estimating the accumulations of their immediate descendants, add to the earnings of this country, on a very conservative estimate, at the rate of about $600,000,000 per year ; and, furthermore, without foreign labor the great public works of the United States would have been retarded for a quarter of a century. In addition to the pecuniary side of this question, no one will deny that foreigners are frequently among our best citizens, and that they have contributed largely to the artistic, literary, scientific, commercial and industrial advancement of the country. Alexander Hamilton was an emigrant boy, brought to this country by the first President of the Chamber of Commerce of New York. The first of the Agassizs, the Astors and the Girards were all foreign-born ; and a poor Scotch lad who came to this country forty years ago has donated millions of dollars to found institutions for the education and refinement of his adopted countrymen.*

Turning to the side of the immigration problem which excites the apprehension of thoughtful men and casts a shadow over the social aspect of this question, and which is now engaging the attention of Congress, we find that Frederick H. Wines, of Springfield, Ill., who is a special agent and expert employed by

* Andrew Carnegie, Esq.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Census Bureau for the statistics of pauperism and crime, deduces the following results from the statistics of the eleventh census:

"The foreign population of this country contributes, directly or indirectly, in the persons of the foreign-born or of their immediate descendants, considerably more material for our State prisons and penitentiaries than the entire native white population. Of the 43,127 penitentiary convicts reported on June 1, 1890, whose birthplace and parentage are known, the foreign-born element of the population furnished 14,725 convicts, the colored population (including Chinese and Indians) 14,687 and the native white population only 13,715 convicts. In other words, each of these elements furnished about one-third of all the inmates of our State prisons and penitentiaries."

Regarding pauperism the same authority reports: "The total number of paupers in the almshouses of the United States in 1890 was 73,045, of which 66,578 were white and 6,467 colored;" and as the result of a careful analysis in detail of these figures Mr. Wines states: "Very nearly three-fifths of all the paupers supported in almshouses are contributed by the foreign-born element of the population and their immediate descendants. The disproportion between the two elements (native white and foreign-born) in respect of the burden of pauperism is even greater than that in respect of crime. The foreign-born paupers alone outnumber all of the white native paupers whose parentage is known, whether the parentage be native or foreign. They also equal in number all of the white native paupers purely of native origin and the colored paupers taken together."

The following statistics and note are furnished by the Secretary of the Department of Public Charities and Correction of the city of New York:

	Total prisoners rec'd.	Of Foreign Birth.	Percentage of Foreign Birth, to total.
Penitentiary	1,868	724	39 per cent.
City Prison (the Tombs)	20,142	14,911	74 per cent.
Work House	21,710	12,896	59 per cent.

"Our records do not show the birthplace of parents of prisoners, but the Superintendent of the workhouse expresses the opinion that it is safe to say that 90 per cent. of the native-born committed are of foreign parents, and doubtless this is true of other institutions."

It is contrary to the plain teaching of history and the experi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ence of mankind for any nation either to force or prohibit natural and proper immigration within its own borders. And the United States, with the exception of the suspension of Chinese immigration, has heretofore confined such restrictive laws to the requirements of self-preservation from fraud or unjust burden upon its communities, and has done all in its power to encourage immigration by wise and liberal land-grants and like inducements to settlers.

In addition to the Act of 1882 suspending Chinese immigration, the laws of the United States prohibit the coolie trade, and exclude all persons who shall contract to labor in the United States before arrival therein. Convicts (excepting those convicted of political offences), lunatics, idiots, destitute immigrants, any person unable to take care of himself or herself without becoming a public charge, are not permitted to land; and the expense of the return of the aforesaid persons not permitted to land must be borne by the owners of the vessels in which they come. There is also levied a tax of fifty cents, to be paid by the owners of the vessel, for each passenger not a citizen of the United States. This tax constitutes an immigrant fund, which is used to defray the cost of regulating immigration, and can be applied to the relief of immigrants in distress. Arrivals from Canada and Mexico are excepted from the fifty-cent passenger tax.

The danger to our institutions does not come from the anarchists and bomb-throwers. We can rely upon the operation of the law and police vigilance to protect society from these pestilent fellows, and Chicago justice has settled this question for some years to come; there is, however, a real and permanent danger to this country in the continued influx of so large a proportion of ignorant masses, for, as stated by an ex-president of the Board of Education, of New York City: "Four-fifths of all our criminals are uneducated, and it costs $29.40 per annum to educate a child in a grammar school in this city, and $110 per annum to maintain a criminal in the penitentiary."*

It is impossible to make a character-standard for the immigrant a passport to the privilege of landing upon American soil; such an inquisition into the former life and occupation of the numbers who are flocking to this country would be impossible upon the part of American consuls; but a simple test of intelli-

* J. Edward Simmons, Esq.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gence is practicable and could be enforced. An Act of Congress requiring all immigrants over fifteen years of age, as a condition before embarking for the United States, to appear before the American consul and receive from him a certificate, to be presented on arrival, that the party intending to emigrate to the United States could read and write his native language, would be in itself to some extent a guaranty of character. It would naturally restrict the number of immigrants, but it would improve their quality and furnish fewer inmates for our prisons and poorhouses.

I hold the opinion that existing laws, properly enforced, with an amendment embracing the reading and writing qualification above indicated, would protect society from the evils connected with immigration, and would insure to us the immense benefits arising from the enormous human stream which must continue to flow to this country.

CHARLES STEWART SMITH.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MICHIGAN'S PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

BY THE HON. EDWIN B. WINANS, GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN.

A GENERAL misconception or lack of information seems to prevail concerning the character and probable effect of the change directed by the present legislature of Michigan in the manner of choosing the State's Presidential electors. Press comment indicates an impression in other States that Michigan has violated precedent and introduced a dangerous innovation by providing a mode of appointing her electors different from that employed elsewhere. A glance at the early practice in the various States will remove this impression.

The Constitution of the United States provides that, "Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress." Since 1860 it has been the practice * in all the States to select Presidential electors by vote of the people upon a general ticket, each elector being chosen by the vote of his whole State. Prior to 1860, however, the different State legislatures had, at different times, provided a variety of methods. At the first Presidential election in January, 1789, electors were chosen in ten States. In seven they were chosen by the legislatures and in three by popular elections. In 1796, the electors of six States were chosen by popular elections and in ten States by the legislatures. In 1824, the legislatures of six States chose the electors, and in all the other States there were popular elections. In 1832, South Carolina was the only State whose legislature made the choice, and she alone continued the practice until 1860. Among the States in which the selection was made by popular vote two methods were in use; one by general ticket, as is customary at present, the other by dividing the States into districts, the voters

* The Colorado electors were chosen by the legislature in 1876.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of each district choosing one or more electors. The States which preferred the district system, one after another adopted the general ticket, but as late as 1824 Maine, Massachusetts, Maryland, Kentucky, and Illinois elected by districts.

Different methods of division into districts were employed. In 1792, the legislature of North Carolina divided that State into four districts, and the members of the legislature residing in each district chose three electors. In 1828, electors were chosen by congressional districts in Maine and New York, and those thus chosen selected the two additional electors for each State. Maryland continued the district system until 1832. At one time, the State was divided into a number of districts corresponding to the number of electors. Later, the State was divided into nine districts, two of which chose two electors each, the remainder choosing one each. At another time, the division was into four districts, the first choosing four electors, the second and third choosing two each, and the fourth choosing three. The instances cited show that many of the older States were "Michiganized" from the beginning.

The recent act of the Michigan legislature directs, in effect, that the voters of each of the twelve congressional districts of Michigan shall choose one Presidential elector. The State is also divided into two electoral districts, an Eastern and a Western, each comprising six congressional districts, and the voters of each electoral district are to choose one of the two additional electors to which the State is entitled.

The change was made in the belief that the district system will enable the people of the State to give a much more definite and satisfactory expression of their choice for the Presidency. The most complete expression possible would be obtained by allowing the people to vote directly for the candidates of their choice, without the interposition of Presidential electors. This method was fully discussed in the constitutional convention of 1787, but was not then considered expedient. One of the arguments advanced was, that to submit the election of a President to direct vote of the people is to take this important power out of the hands of those best fitted for its exercise and bestow it upon those least capable of using it wisely. The system finally adopted was chosen as the best of the many plans proposed for the choice of a President by delegates chosen by the people. The object in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

view was the selection of a limited number of men, chosen from among their fellow citizens because of special fitness, who were to meet for deliberation upon the merits of public men, and, after careful consideration, exercise their own judgment in voting for a President.

Nominating conventions were then unknown, and the Presidential electors were not pledged to vote for particular candidates, but were left free to use their own discretion or to reflect the preference of the section they represented. Appeals to this discretion were often made after the electors were chosen. It was not contemplated, when the Constitution was adopted, that all the electoral votes of each State should necessarily be cast for the same candidate, and in the earlier elections it was common for different candidates to receive electoral votes from the same State. As late as 1824 the New York electors divided their votes among four candidates for President and two for Vice-President. Moreover, had it been the design of the framers of the Constitution that each State should cast its entire electoral vote as a unit, there would have been no occasion for the appointment of electors. The whole matter could have been arranged by allowing each State so many votes for President, instead of so many Presidential electors. The Presidential votes of a State could then have been cast by one officer as well as by twenty, or could have been certified to the President of the Senate by the executive officers of the State. The fact that each electoral vote was to be cast by an individual is proof that individual and independent action by the electors was contemplated. But the original intention has been so far lost sight of that in our day the electors have no discretion whatever. They simply meet and vote for the candidates previously nominated by their party conventions. The only essential qualification of a modern Presidential elector is fidelity to his party. He is merely the mouthpiece of the party who choose him, and any exercise of his individual judgment, contrary to the sentiment of his party, would be considered a crime. Our people can no longer be regarded as incompetent to exercise their own judgment, and if they were now incompetent, the electoral system would be no safeguard, for, in point of fact, it is the discretion of the people and not that of the electors to which effect is given.

While the electoral system seems destined to continue for a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time, it is within the power of each State legislature to give every section of its State a fair representation in the Electoral College. The most unsatisfactory result of choosing the electors by general ticket is that it practically compels the selection in each State of electors who are all pledged to one candidate, and nullifies the influence of large portions of the State where that candidate is unpopular. In any State there may be a large section, a congressional district, or several of them, in which a heavy majority of the voters are strongly opposed to the election of a particular candidate, yet, against their will, their influence is practically cast in favor of that candidate because a different sentiment prevails in the remainder of the State.

In many of the States parties are evenly divided, but by choosing the electors on a general ticket the principle of the odious unit rule is applied, which permits the majority of a delegation to dictate the votes of the minority, and which is no longer tolerated even in nominating conventions. Thus the entire electoral vote of a State may be cast for a candidate who is opposed by forty-nine per cent. of the voters. Wisconsin will have twelve votes in the next Electoral College. The political complexion of the State is fairly doubtful, and the vote will probably be a close one, yet one party or the other in that State will have absolutely no representation in the Electoral College. If the Electors were to be chosen by districts, can it be doubted that the result in any State would be a more exact expression of the preferences of her people ?

Objection has been made to the district system on the ground that it will divide the electoral vote of a State and thus lessen her influence in the selection of a President. I answer, that if popular sentiment in a State is divided, her electoral vote ought to be divided, be the result what it may. The political minority help to make up the basis of population upon which the electors are apportioned to the States, and common fairness demands that they be given their proportionate share of the electors. In every State the people of limited districts decide who shall represent their interests in the National House of Representatives. There is no express provision in the Constitution that members of Congress shall be chosen by districts. They are to be chosen every second year "by the people of the several States," and the people of the States, through their legislatures, divide the States into congressional

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

districts. That this method is fair and just, and secures to the people of the State a proper representation, is not denied even by those who insist upon choice of electors by general ticket. A proposition to elect by general ticket the congressional delegation of any State would be instantly resented in every district, yet the people of those districts are forced to turn over to the State at large the expression of their Presidential preferences. Surely the election of a President is as important an exercise of power, and should as fairly reflect the wishes of the voters, as a congressional election. The sacred principle of majority rule would be as faithfully applied in the districts as in the State, and the application would be far less vexatious and arbitrary. The people of each district would speak for themselves, and the result would be a far more accurate and detailed showing of preferences. Most of the districts would be doubtful and every voter would feel that his influence would have its weight in the selection of a chief magistrate.

The enactment of the Michigan statute has developed, among advocates of the general ticket, a theory that a choice of electors by districts is a violation of the Constitution, which directs that "Each State shall appoint" the electors. It is claimed that a State legislature has no authority to refer the choice to the people of sub-divisions of the State. But it seems idle to discuss a question which was settled by early practice and by the acquiescence of the men who framed the Constitution. It has been shown that by direction of different State legislatures the district system was in use for many years after the adoption of the Constitution. Is it to be assumed that the men who framed that instrument permitted a misconstruction of its language in so important a particular to pass unchallenged for more than forty years? President Madison, in a letter to George Hay, dated August, 1823, said: "The district mode was mostly, if not exclusively, in view when the Constitution was framed and adopted, and was changed for the general ticket and legislative election as the only expedient for baffling the policy of particular States which had set the example." Here we have the explanation of the gradual change of method. As the people divided into parties, the majorities in certain States, having control of the legislatures, decided to shut the mouths of their opponents. Hence the adoption of the general ticket. Virginia ratified the Constitution in June, 1788, and in November her legislature directed, "That for the purpose

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of choosing twelve electors on behalf of this State to vote for a President in conformity to the Constitution of government for the United States, the several counties in this commonwealth shall be allotted into twelve districts, in manner following." One hundred and three years later it is announced that this action was unconstitutional. Judge Story, after reciting that the general ticket, the district method, and the legislative election had each been employed, remarks, "No question has ever arisen as to the constitutionality of either mode, except that of a direct choice by the legislature." ("Story on the Constitution," Sec. 1,472.) Even President Harrison, who has strongly expressed his disapprobation of the Michigan law, and who may be presumed to have fully stated the arguments against it, does not contend that it is a violation of the Constitution.

An advantage of the highest importance would be gained through the district system by destroying the commanding importance of pivotal States. A bare plurality of the popular vote in two States has decided several Presidential elections. As a general election approaches every man interested in the result can name the States in which the result is considered assured, and interest is practically withdrawn from those States and centred upon the few doubtful ones. In these, intense excitement is aroused, and the fight is waged with a bitterness and determination born of the conviction of their special importance. Indiana becomes a "bloody angle" and New York a "battlefield." Business comes to a standstill, men are crazed for the time by the intensity of their excitement, and general demoralization prevails. These decisive States must be carried at any cost, and enormous corruption funds are raised and poured into them from every quarter. Thousands of votes are bought and sold, and corruption and debauchery are openly carried on, because the perpetrators can rely upon party spirit to shield them from punishment. And when it is all over, one wonders what the result would have been in those States had the people been left in peace to vote their own preferences. If the electors were chosen by districts, this concentration of unhealthy effort in particular States would cease. The contest would be confined to the individual districts, and so many of these would be in doubt that political managers could not ascertain, as they now can, just what must be done to carry the day.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

President Harrison in his last annual message to Congress used the following language: "The recent Michigan legislation provides for choosing what are popularly known as the congressional electors for President by congressional districts, and the two senatorial electors by districts created for that purpose. This legislation was, of course, accompanied by a new congressional apportionment, and the two statutes bring the electoral vote of the State under the influence of the gerrymander."

Without stopping to discuss the propriety of this aspersion coming from one who is himself a probable candidate for the electoral votes of Michigan, let us inquire what is the chief evil of the gerrymander. The term is used to designate the practice of so dividing a State as to give one party an unfair advantage in a majority of the districts. The practice is an undoubted wrong, and has at times been indulged in by each of the great parties, but it is a practice which immediately affects the voters of every district, and experience has shown that public sentiment is quick to condemn its arbitrary use. Its injustice lies in the fact that it lessens the representation to which the political minority, by reason of their numbers, are justly entitled. But if we condemn the gerrymander because it lessens the representation of the minority, what is to be said of a system which excludes the minority from any representation whatever? Yet this is the exact result attained by choosing Presidential electors on a general ticket.

In a recent article a distinguished ex-Senator of the United States discusses the gerrymander, and, referring to the apportionment of Alabama, says: "The district of smallest population has only 151,757 inhabitants, and another contiguous district has 253,891, a difference of upwards of 100,000 citizens." He adds: "Suggestion as to the motive for such geographical and numerical arrangement is quite superfluous."

At the last congressional election, the first district of Michigan had a population of 257,114, and another contiguous district, the second, had 153,655, a greater disparity than that shown in Alabama. Is comment here superfluous? Since 1880 the difference between the most populous and least populous congressional districts of Michigan has been as follows: In 1880, 64,951; in 1884, 50,607; in 1890, 103,459, and under the new apportionment of 1891, 44,253. Three of the new districts, the first, second and seventh, may be considered safely Democratic.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Three others, the third, fourth and twelfth, are as safely Republican. The remainder are fairly doubtful districts, with the chances in favor of the Republicans in at least two of them, and it may safely be asserted that Michigan was never more fairly apportioned.

Equally unwarranted with the claim that Michigan is gerrymandered is the assumption that the district system was adopted for a temporary party advantage. In the last State campaign the tariff issue was fully discussed, and although local considerations caused two of the Democratic candidates to run ahead of their ticket, the rest were elected by an average plurality of about 3,000. In the Congressional elections, upon national issues, the total Democratic vote for Congressmen exceeded the total Republican vote by 9,628. With these facts in view, there was strong reason for the belief that, without a change in the method of choosing electors, the entire electoral vote of Michigan would be cast for the Democratic candidate of 1892.

We divide our States into districts for the election of State Representatives, and into other districts for the choice of State Senators, in order that the people of all sections may be represented. We choose our Members of Congress from districts within the States, that the different views of our people may be represented in the national legislature. Every section of the State is heard in the selection of United States Senators. Only in the choice of Presidential electors is this local representation denied.

The legislature of Michigan, in the exercise of its constitutional power, and in the hope that all the States will join her in returning to the methods of the Constitution, has given the voters of every section of the State an opportunity to express their choice for the Presidency.

EDWIN B. WINANS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FRENCH GIRLS.

BY MADAME ADAM.

ONE of the most curious and unexpected facts for mothers in France—one which has brought about within the last twenty-five years an actual revolution that is having its effect upon our customs—has been the emancipation of our young girls, caused by the intercourse of young women in France with American and English girls. What is most surprising and strange in it all is that education has not brought about this change. Convents and schools have the same rules and teach the same principles, without modifications of any kind. The religious faith of young women has remained the same, and the peculiar result is that those who are generally the most independent affect, or really feel, the necessity of practising their religious duties in the most scrupulous manner. French girls have all along observed religious conventions more closely as they assumed a more independent bearing. Formerly, a young woman did assume a slight independence of spirit, or become a little more skeptical and filled with a little more of the Voltaire school, as soon as she became a married woman, because of the contact with the more untrammelled mind of her husband. To-day, she places herself in touch with ideas which she believes to be of a better *ton*, just as fast as her opinion of the old French manners and customs decreases.

Do not imagine that these deep seated changes in the make-up of the character of young French women have come about in a single class of society or in Paris alone. The same modifications have appeared in the provinces, in the smallest towns and in the most retired castles, in exactly the same proportion as where they had the largest path to make. You see, for instance, young women escorting each other, riding horseback alone, going out with a maid or a governess, without their mothers; and they go out with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their brothers, too. They are to be found at receptions, where they are announced, where young men come to seek them, though their mothers do not appear. They even go out with an unmarried escort no older than themselves. One of the causes that have brought about this change is the life at watering-places, at the seaside resorts and especially at places along the Mediterranean. I well remember the first time my little daughter—she was then ten years old, and was playing near me with a little French friend no older than herself—saw, from the balcony of the house in which we lived in the English Quarter at Cannes, a young English girl pass by in the direction of the Esterel escorted by a young man. My daughter said to her little companion :

"There goes an English girl out walking with her brother." And the other with an inimitable air answered :

"No, dear, perhaps it is n't her brother. Perhaps it's only her friend."

"What ! Her friend ! Not even her father ?"

"Not even her father."

"But," cried my daughter, as much scandalized as one so young could be, "do her mamma and papa allow her to go out alone at her age on the mountain with a young man ? She cannot be a well-bred young lady."

"She is the daughter of a lord," replied the little friend, quickly, "I am sure ; I know her."

"Mamma, is what Lunette says true ?" demanded my child of me. "Do you think that proper—you, who are grown up ?"

"No, no," I replied, "and I hope that the fashion will never be adopted in France."

To-day my daughter's daughters have the manners and customs which have undergone these new changes, and they are Anglicized and Americanized like their friends. Nothing can give an idea—and I speak with knowledge, as one who has suffered—of the revulsion of feeling which a mother experienced twenty-five years ago at Nice, at Hyères, at Mentone, at Cannes, when she saw English girls go out alone with a "friend," as Lunette said, or, dividing into couples, go off in large numbers on excursions from which they did not return until evening. It was almost anguish, this feeling that one could not avoid ; to think that these young girls, who, after all, had mothers, should run such danger ! Although, indeed, when one looked more carefully

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and saw the great boobies whose awkward style and long steps the English girls copied, and who seemed to have taken away from the girls all the French modesty and much-scorned exclusiveness, one could reassure oneself.

Our children, as they grew up, were still shocked beyond all expression at what they called the want of style and the want of manners of the English. In social circles the camp of young French girls was never allowed to mix under any circumstances with the camp of American and English girls. There were whisperings of mockery on one side and the other, ironical pity for the slavery of the one, scandal at the "boyish" manners of the other. There was something like a state of warfare between them, and the young men of both parties rarely took the risk of inviting a girl from the other clan. Some Frenchmen, friends of young Englishmen, had themselves introduced especially to American girls, but they compromised themselves in the minds of their sisters and friends. Our girls rather exaggerated their reserve, and it seemed as if they affected the plan of shielding themselves under our wing. In vain would a young man propose a walk on his arm in the drawing-room to a young French girl. Her indignation would break forth in, "Ah, Monsieur, am I an American or English woman?" Our girls, for instance, who were well-bred never looked their partner in the face while dancing, and would reply with modesty to his compliments, or blush at each word that seemed to them unfit for their womanly ears. They would stop the conversation with, "Monsieur, I beg of you not to continue. I have heard too much already that was not meant for me to hear." Indeed, our young girls had a respect for their own innocence that made them reject all knowledge, all comprehension of anything that might disturb their purity or make them lose in the least what they guarded with so much jealousy. They would have suffered, if they had guessed anything their parents hid from them, and would have considered that they were guilty in understanding it.

Their minds were shielded by their parents and their friends, and the latter were careful in their presence. A word was sufficient to make them pass quickly over a dangerous subject. "Do not forget that there are some young girls here"—and the story would be stopped short. Everything, as I say, was done to keep the thoughts of young girls on poetic, gay, and juvenile subjects.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Facts about nature and science were only revealed to them when they had to be initiated into certain mysteries of life. A young woman who studied botany became a curiosity the moment when she pronounced certain words. Ornithology was the most accepted science, because it was useful to mothers at the time of marriage for certain necessary revelations. The nests and the little birds gave a poetic turn to talks that were necessary on the wedding day or the day before. But how many girls have been frightened and unnerved at these revelations, and how they would have fled to the far ends of the earth if they had dared, rather than contract a marriage, as Monsieur le Maire says! Our young women, whether of the higher or the lower nobility, of the peasantry or the tradespeople, lived in a complete and ethereal ignorance. They did not know evil. It is quite true that they were not armed to guard or defend themselves, and they were often thrown into marriage unprepared, because of scruples and hesitations only too common on the part of mothers, who have not the slightest suspicions of the consequences; and they were as often indignant and disgusted by the exigencies. On the other hand, a young girl who opposed her family in a reasonable marriage with no other pretext than that the aspirant did not please her was unanimously censured. "Mademoiselle wishes to choose, herself, to marry, herself," they would repeat with severity. How could such a thing be permitted! "Do not her parents know better than she what will suit her? She is a girl who will come to no good."

Then, a young girl never read any papers but fashion papers. Her educational books were examined, carefully looked over and expurgated. Even her dreams were classic; they must have been ideal in the extreme, and nothing material could have been imagined by her, nothing but a platonic husband promised her in life. It was not proper to have too good health, either, or too much appetite, if she would be a really aristocratic young woman.

And we brought up this child so pure, to be wedded to a French husband who was already beginning to bite at all kinds of sports, to think only of amusing himself in every way, growing more and more jeering and sceptical, respecting very few things in life, loving pleasure above all, good living and an outdoor life! How many of our young girls have returned, forever unhappy, to cower on the breast of a mother, to confide their sad disillusions

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to a friend married even as they were! How many have sought refuge for their wounded spirits with a priest, who counselled them to guard their souls for God, and not to yield them to a husband who had not tried in any way to conquer them! The masculine nature became odious to certain too innocent wives; marriage remains in their minds as a sort of ambush into which they had been thrown without warning.

It was, therefore, necessary to prepare our daughters better for our sons, to give them better instruction in the materialistic and prosaic sides of life, to initiate them into the sciences which should show how all beings must submit to general laws; but it was distinctly not necessary to make them become acquainted with young Frenchmen in a way that would cause these latter to lose the little respect they had for women.

An English or American youth sees in a woman a superior creature or a sister or a wife. A young Frenchman sees a woman, and immediately suspects one who is either distinguished by a vigorous mind or individual character. Not much inclined for marriage, he finds too many female friends always at hand to be attracted by young women who are not bred up to be good mothers and wives, and who would simply be feminine companions, not friends. Without doubt, if marriage could be the association dreamed of by social philanthropists, it would be the state in which woman gave her husband help and advice in his outside work, and in which she was able to interest him in the affairs of the home, in the early education of her children, in the administration of the household. But a Frenchman has little taste for such equality with his wife, who though she has not his qualities has nevertheless their equivalents. He does not object to her using these faculties in society. He either wants a housekeeper who may be a little *bibète*, which, he says, "rests him," or he wants a brilliant woman of the world who amuses him.

The new English and American ways will make our French girls who are married more worldly, more passionately fond of outdoor sports like their husbands, and less praiseworthy housekeepers. They will be drawn away from their true purpose, which they might have attained by a little forethought on the part of their mothers. Had they become good housewives they would have been able to find a sphere for themselves in which they would have, little by little, formed themselves for public

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

life also, and which would have made them useful to their husbands, just as the latter in carrying out their own affairs well have made themselves to-day capable of carrying on the affairs of their country.

The meeting of young French girls with American and English girls, always growing more frequent at winter resorts, baths, watering places, in educational institutions and in daily intercourse, has little by little melted the ice; and our girls commenced by envying their sisters, and then gradually came to imitate them. The yoke they had to bear irritated them, and, among themselves, instead of blaming the independence of the foreigners' manners, they began to cry out for want of them.

This came about first at balls, where the imitation commenced in conversation and in a more deliberate carriage; not as some think in flirtation, which has not been, and never will be, able to force itself into our customs, on account of the danger which this game of love would bring upon our girls—a danger which American and English girls do not run (I trust I can surely believe) with young Englishmen and Americans. The first young French women who conversed with their partners, who made a tour of the ball room, who rested in the interval between dances at some distance from their mothers, were very severely judged; but, little by little, contagion affected the most timid, and three or four generations sufficed to bring about a total change. Certain things which appeared natural then, appear ridiculous to-day; such as the action of the parents among the tradespeople who did not allow their daughters to waltz or to appear in *décolleté* dress.

There was an English game which helped these matters along in a singular manner. This was croquet. Every mother can recall the first astonishment she felt when she saw her daughter enter into a discussion with a young man who had just been presented to her, or carry a mallet over her shoulders with a little swaggering air as she stretched her figure back or gave jeering answers or laughed aloud. Certainly criticism was not lacking at the start, and when those young girls who astonished even themselves, scarcely recognizing themselves any longer, saw their parents and friends blaming them and some of their companions remaining faithful to the old customs, they began to accuse themselves and promised to be more careful.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The grandmothers lost their heads over the whole affair. They at first called their sons and daughters to task : "How can you tolerate manners like these ? Why, your daughter has the manners of a fishwoman ! In a little while you will only hear her speak when she stands with her hands on her hips ! Young girls with their noses in the air—why, they come from the street !" When they cried out so against this new abomination, these good grandmothers followed the dictates of an egoism that they failed to recognize. But as soon as these liberties had once been taken and the objections conquered their reign was at an end ; and at last all the little children, young girls, and later on young women only had liberty while in their hands, and they were consequently spoiled. They could put on that famous little swaggering air at their grandmother's. Their education and its severities devolved upon the mothers, and the grandmother might well say to her daughter, "you bring up your daughter very badly," but she herself would be indulgent. The lot of the grandmother was certainly the most delightful and enviable in the family.

Happiness, influence, confidence, all were lost on account of the grandmother. Peccadillos now could be counted by the hundred, and there was no more running to grandmother to sue for pardon. Youth absolved itself. The young people met their cousins at grandmother's house ; they became a little freer with them ; they got better acquainted, and showed a little of their hearts, of their thoughts and sensibilities, without appearing to parade them before the world or in the house of their parents, which would have been a sign of very bad taste. They played little city and country games at their grandmother's house. At certain times of the day the old lady had a knowing way of telling them, "Go and amuse yourselves, children ; youth passes quickly enough." All this took place within the family precincts, with brothers, cousins or friends of one or another—friends of childhood, whose parents had themselves been friends of their parents. But later on, they permitted these things to go on with young men who had been introduced to them within a day or a week, and they occasionally allowed it also with strangers who came from no one knew where, introduced by an introduced friend—and you can see the seriousness of the guarantee ! Was there not indeed a reason for the older heads to imagine that the ruin of the family was at hand !

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ah! that croquet that occupied young girls' minds in the country, at the seaside or at watering places the whole day, instead of which they used to have moments for reading, music, and embroidery! And those skirts which were suddenly raised high on the ankle to accomplish a certain stroke in the game, and the next moment carried short to be out of the way; what immodesty! what manners! Great Heavens! And then came the little boyish cap, the tight fitting jerseys—those flannel betrayers of the form;—all this followed in the game of court tennis and lawn tennis. To give those heavy blows with a mallet to the balls, or those vigorous strokes with a racquet, interspersed with talk of biceps, of breast, of ankles—what joy, what elegance for the young girls of France! But how can we help regretting the old graceful movements and games. And the evening! Ah, the scandal of it! These young girls playing at roulette or *petits chevaux* in the Casinos, or dancing with the greatest roué—this time scarcely introduced! Or again in the country, as in the drawing room, young women scoffed at the idea of listening to people whom they used to listen to with such pleasure when they were permitted to talk with them; not to speak of the mixed troops of young boys and girls who play billiards, talk loudly, dispute, and drown the voices of their parents with distance!

In the city young people go out with a maid or a *trotteuse*—that is, with a person who is hired to walk an hour or two with your daughter; someone whom you do not know any better than a professor of languages; whom you can neither overhear nor oversee when they are out of doors; whose moral ideas, whose manners you do not know. And yet to this person you intrust your daughter, thinking of her physical health. Alas, it is a question what becomes of her moral health! What has become of the good precepts, the long talk with the mother and the grandmother, which formed the soul and elevated the thoughts, taking that pretty form traditional in our language? Where are the hours of reading together when analyses and comments were made as they proceeded? All that is confided to the professors now, who form the girls' minds mechanically and enlist them in regiments by the hundreds, to assist in promulgating the mechanical theories that are ordained by custom. After the convent and the pension come lectures; but, most important of all,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the individual and original education within the family is quite abandoned. What young girl would to-day be willing to take her final lessons in literature and history from her mother and her grandmother? She would think it unfashionable.

A mother who is not rich turns herself into a *trotteuse*. She runs to the lecture room also. There are few individual lessons, for these young girls detest them as they detest solitude and home. They must be out of doors and with their friends. Formerly, the mother directed after a fashion the education of the daughters even in the convent. To-day, she yields to them and has no supervision of their studies. Mademoiselle wishes now to take everything, to know everything, drawing, music, languages, algebra, dancing,—and it is ruinous.

Still, if the custom of the dowry had disappeared with these manners of the past, it might have been better; but that has remained, adding to the expenses of education, expenses that increase as boys and girls demand more and more and give less and less in return. English and Americans, when they gave these manners and customs, would have done well to help the girls find husbands for themselves and to teach them to go into marriage without new responsibilities and without drawing on the fortune or the comfort of their parents, acquired with such difficulty and sacrifice. All these new fashions would have been, and should be, accepted with resignation by the parents, if the rupture in the question of family property, involving rights therein that are dear to the French, did not threaten to make the opposition still stronger before long. How often one sees parents smile sadly at each other and say with deep regret, "I have no children. My daughters take no more interest in their mother's life. My sons do not trouble themselves about any of my affairs." And what a void, what bitterness all this makes for the older members of the family!

These poor old people cannot live up to the standards of their daughters, who only a few years ago talked with them as comrades, and who treat them to-day as inferiors. These young people discuss and judge after their own manner, they form their minds more and more personally and independently, opposing the ideas of the family with an avidity that corresponds with their youthful activity. And taking their dreams for intellectual power, they become infatuated and look upon their parents as old and superannuated. They still go occasionally to their brothers and fathers for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

counsel, for they are bureaus of news from the dear outside world. But they desert their mothers when it is not necessary for the latter to accompany them to lectures. They abandon their grandmothers, who do not interest them at all, who are no longer even amusing. Amusing! To be amusing—that is the touchstone of the generation which is succeeding the pessimists!

The family has already split in two, one part being the younger members, who simply amuse themselves; the other, the mature and the aged—the mature fretting over these changes and digging deeper the abyss of separation, the aged trying to make themselves young again by any and all means, so as not to be thrown aside; and they succeed in giving themselves at least the appearance of youth. The sight of the first is heartrending, that of the second lamentable—painted men and women with red and blonde hair, trying to retain complexion or ward off white hairs, who, seeing that they are being finally abandoned, wish to be young again and to amuse and be amused.

The vacation, which formerly united the most divided families, now sees them scattered. Those who make a supreme effort to gather together see at such time that the estrangement of the young people and the middle aged has only increased. Jealous of their independence they wish to make their own lives and to lead them by themselves. The error is growing more and more serious, caused by the impatience felt at any restraint. A young girl once married, *fin de siècle*, as they say in Paris, that is, having to a greater or less degree these faults or good qualities,—it is immaterial which,—will not allow her mother to give her advice in regard to the management of her household and in bringing up her children. It is quite true that by this she rids her household of the meddling interference of a typical mother-in-law. At any rate she prefers to the experience of her family, her own inexperience and the advice of a hired nurse or cook, which she is always free to follow or not as she wishes.

The children who remain at home do not interest the father now when he returns at night, except with the little accounts of their own plans and amusements for the day, if these happen to attract him. The home no longer has any attraction for him; it is no longer a place of high interests, the means for the exchange of the highest ideas and of the best sentiments; it is the place where he is free to don his dressing gown and to put on his

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

slippers, and he cannot now teach good lessons by his example or his personal authority. It is useless for him to study his children, or to try to bring them up well, to watch them and retain their respect. It is the place for rest, and he gives himself up to that. There is no more advice, for it is seldom followed ; no more principles by which the minds of the children were formerly moulded according to the judgment of the entire family ; no more of the spirit which was always ready for the greatest sacrifices where one of the members needed the devotion of the rest and appealed to it. To-day each one is for himself. If the dowry did not exist in France, if the young girls did not still feel the material need of their families, they would be free like American girls before they were ten years old, and would later choose husbands for themselves. They must be interested in the fortunes of their parents, even though this is only for the sake of knowing who they can aspire to marry and who can pretend to marry them. In Paris young girls are constantly thrown together, and they escape from their families in this way. In the provinces and the country, being much more isolated and thoughtful, they are at times more or less open to some paternal restraint, but submission is with them only an exception ; they only think of marriage, which will set them free and give them the right to go out into the world alone at the age of twenty-five.

One can hear and see the changes which have taken place in twenty-five years when one hears them talking together. For the grandmothers and the mothers of the old school it is paralyzing. The questions, the confidences, exchange of ideas, projects for the future, judgments on what they call sentimentalities of life, criticism on young men whom they appreciate to a surprising degree—all this was formerly reserved for the family's ears alone, for the mother and the grandmother ; and now it has become the privilege of the friend, or of several friends, and more's the pity !

As we would weep over a world which is disintegrating and dying, so in France one has to weep over the family. But all that is torn from its bleeding heart is added to the individual. The young woman is making herself ; now she is only at the entrance of the new life which young men are leaving behind them. She will become, from day to day, in every sense more of a companion in marriage. At present she only sees before her the pleasure of escaping from a cage. She will understand

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in a little while the responsibilities of liberty. Better armed against social dangers, she will choose more intelligently those by whose side she will strive for the comforts of life. Already, among our girls who are free from their families, who have broken from a world too narrow for them, we can see rising a superior womanhood, and we must acknowledge it a strong one. They have lost, it is true, the poetry concealed under the old veiled existence, the emotions of their devout and silent sentiments—delicate and sweet as they were—but they have conquered much in exchange.

They are loyal and just, and being after all of one blood, they have the worship of the larger family, that of the French nation. Our grandmothers and mothers can think of one fact that will always be a great consolation for them—that is, that if our daughters belong less to us, they belong more to themselves, and if we have much more unhappy lives, perhaps they are becoming far happier.

JULIETTE ADAM.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FREE ZONE IN MEXICO.

BY M. ROMERO, MEXICAN MINISTER TO THE UNITED STATES.

IN THE northern part of Mexico, along its border line with the United States, there extends a strip of land which is governed by trade regulations wholly different from those of the rest of the republic. This strip is known as the Free Zone, or, in Spanish, *Zona Libre*, and it is, it seems to me, an institution wholly misunderstood in this country. The general opinion seems to be, first, that it was established by Mexico as an act of antagonism, if not of unfriendliness, towards the United States, and, second, that its main, if not its sole purpose was to encourage smuggling, to the prejudice of the fiscal interests of this country. I wish to show how unfounded such impressions are; and, prompted as I am by a due regard for a fair understanding and harmony between the two countries, I believe it will not be considered presumptuous on my part to offer some statements concerning that subject. I will not be expected to write in defence of the Free Zone. The official records of Mexico show that, far from being its friend, I have ever been its most earnest opponent, and I am the only Mexican Secretary of the Treasury who has so far officially advised its abolition. I intend to consider the matter impartially and fairly, and to do this I will first state how the *Zona Libre* originated in Mexico, and then define what we mean by that term.

When, in pursuance of the treaty of February 2, 1848, the Rio Grande River, from El Paso del Norte to the point where it flows into the Gulf of Mexico, was accepted as the boundary line between Mexico and the United States, new settlements sprang up on both banks of the river, and things began to take their level under the new conditions. The two nations, which so far had been separated by a desert, were at once brought into close contact with one another, and it was found that the economical and commercial conditions on the north and south banks of the Rio

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Grande were in striking contrast to each other. In the towns of the United States along the north bank no taxes were levied and no restrictions of any kind were imposed upon internal trade. The import duties on foreign goods brought into the United States were at that time relatively low, and this country was then at the beginning of its unexampled career of material progress and prosperity. On the opposite bank, in Mexico, the towns were loaded down with the onerous system of taxation which had come down to us from the Spaniards. The heavy taxes which were levied on internal commerce had largely increased the cost of foreign and domestic goods, and the collection of these taxes made a system of interior custom-houses, with all their attending evils, a necessary institution. There were many and very onerous restrictions both upon foreign and domestic trade, and the import duties on foreign goods were so high as to be, in many cases, practically prohibitory. Many commodities were actually excluded from the country under the plea of protection to our national industries, and among these were articles of prime necessity, such as grain and provisions. The result of this condition of things was that radically different prices prevailed in the towns on both sides of the river. At Brownsville, Tex., for instance, on the north bank of the Rio Grande, all sorts of domestic articles and the necessaries of life, such as provisions and clothing, were bought at a low price, while in Matamoras and other Mexican towns, on the south bank, the same articles of domestic production and often of an inferior quality cost twice and even four times as much as at the stores just across the river. A still greater disproportion existed in the price of foreign goods on either side of the river, and the cheapest commodities were always sold on the left bank of the Rio Grande.

This difference of taxation and consequently of prices on the frontier, necessarily brought about one of two results. It either caused the inhabitants of the Mexican towns to emigrate to the settlements on the other side of the river, in order to enjoy the advantages which were to be had in this country, or it induced them to purchase in the United States the goods which they needed and to smuggle them across the Rio Grande to their homes in Mexico.

In 1849, the year following the adoption of the new boundary line by the two countries, the situation on the Mexican frontier

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

became so untenable and disquieting that our federal congress was obliged to pass, on the 4th of April of that year, a law authorizing for three years the importation through the frontier custom-houses of the state of Tamaulipas of such provisions as were needed for the use of the people of the frontier. Such goods had up to that time been prohibited by the existing tariff, or had been subject to almost prohibitory duties. This law did not meet the exigencies of the situation, because it was restricted to provisions, and these were not the only things that men require for their life and comfort.

On August 30, 1852, the United States Congress passed a law by which the contrast between the conditions of the two sides of the Rio Grande was made still greater, and the condition of things on the Mexican side became worse than ever. By that act foreign goods could be sent in bond to Mexico over certain routes specified in the law and others to be authorized by the Secretary of the Treasury. These goods could be held on the frontier in the United States until a favorable opportunity came for their exportation into Mexico, and they were free of all duties on the part of the United States. There was no similar privilege within the territory of Mexico, as all foreign goods, of whatever kind they might be, were there subject to the payment of duty upon their importation. The result was that the inhabitants of the Mexican side of the river were placed under such disadvantages that the public men of Tamaulipas, the only state which at that time had towns on the border facing the border villages of Texas, came to believe that they must have privileges similar to those existing in the United States, to enable them to live on the frontier. It was this belief that originated the Free Zone, and, in the unsettled condition of Mexico, such men soon found an opportunity to bring about what they desired.

This statement of facts shows that the Free Zone was not really an invention of the Mexican authorities of the state of Tamaulipas, but an imitation on a larger scale of a similar measure enacted more than five years previously by the United States Government for the benefit of that portion of its territory bordering on Mexico.

On February 5, 1857, we adopted our present constitution, which went into operation on the 16th of the following September. On the 1st of December of that year, General Don Ignacio

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Comonfort, who had just been elected President under the new constitution, was inaugurated. Two weeks later he unfortunately issued a pronunciamento against the very constitution to which he owed his election and consequently the legality of his powers, and he thereupon dissolved the Federal Congress then in session. Almost all the Mexican States refused to consent to such a daring violation of the constitution, and many of them, specially those far removed from the capital, reassumed their sovereignty, and their legislatures granted extraordinary powers to the governors, in order to enable them to defend their institutions against those who had betrayed their trust in trying to overthrow the constitution, acting very much as some of the Brazilian States recently did when the president of that republic, Marshal Diodoro Da Fonseca, attempted to assume the Dictatorship.

By virtue of such powers the Governor of the State of Tamaulipas issued on March 17, 1858, a decree designed to afford a remedy for the hardships from which the frontier population of that State were then suffering. This decree established what has since that time been known in Mexico as the Free Zone. It permitted all foreign goods intended for the use of the frontier towns of that State, for the ranches in their jurisdiction, or for trade between those towns, to be exempt from all federal duties, but not from municipal or State taxes. Such goods could remain in bond in the same towns either at the house of the importer or at the public warehouse. The Federal Government not then having warehouses on the frontier, all packages had to go, of course, to the house of the importer. Thus, goods imported into the frontier towns could remain stored indefinitely without paying any storage or any other charges to the Federal Treasury, and they only paid import duties when they were taken from the frontier towns to the interior of Mexico.

Nothing could furnish a better idea of the true object of the ordinance issued by the Governor of Tamaulipas, if there were room for any well-founded doubt, than the grounds on which he based his action, which he stated in the preamble of his decree in the following words :

"The citizen Ramon Guerra, Governor *ad-interim* of the State of Tamaulipas: whereas, our towns on our northern frontier are in a state of actual decadence for the lack of laws to protect their commerce; and, where-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as, being situated in close proximity to a commercial nation which enjoys free trade they need equal advantages in order not to lose their population, which is constantly emigrating to the neighboring country; now, therefore, desiring to put an end to so serious an evil by means of franchises which have so long been demanded by the frontier trade; favorably considering the petition of the inhabitants of Matamoras, and using the extraordinary faculties with which I am invested by the decree of December 28, of the Honorable Legislature of the State, with the advice and consent of the council, I have seen fit to decree as follows," etc.

The articles of the decree which I give below contain the main provisions about the Free Zone and show exactly how far it was intended to go:

ARTICLE 1.—Foreign goods designed for the consumption of the city of Matamoras and of the other towns on the bank of the Rio Bravo, Reynosa, Camargo, Mier, Guerrero, and Monterey Laredo, and for the trade which these towns carry on among themselves, shall be free from all duties, with the exception of municipal duties and such taxes as may be imposed, to the end that the burdens of the State may be borne. In like manner, goods deposited in government warehouses, or in warehouses belonging to private individuals, in the said towns, shall be free of duties so long as they are not conveyed inland to other towns of the State or of the Republic. The terms on which this trade is to be conducted are laid down in the following articles:

. . . . . .

ARTICLE 7.—Foreign goods leaving the privileged towns to be conveyed into the interior of the Republic shall, at the time of so doing, become subject to the duties laid upon them by the tariff, and they shall never be conveyed into the interior without having paid, at the custom-house of their place of departure, all duties which are required to be paid in the port, and without the observance of all the requirements and provisions of the laws in force, in order not to be molested or detained on their way.

The Governor of Tamaulipas foresaw that his decree would naturally facilitate smuggling, to the disadvantage of the Federal Treasury of Mexico; but I am sure he little imagined that the Treasury of the United States would suffer in consequence thereof, and he earnestly recommended the citizens of the State to try and prevent such a result by all means in their power, as appears from the following article of his decree:

ARTICLE 8.—As the privilege granted by this decree ought not to cause any detriment to the national revenue, it is the duty of the inhabitants of the frontier to prevent, by all the means in their power, this privilege from being converted into a shameful smuggling traffic; it is, therefore, the duty of every inhabitant of the frontier voluntarily to become a sentinel, constantly on the watch to prevent smuggling; otherwise, the Government will be under the painful necessity of withdrawing this privilege, by revoking the present decree.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Governor's decree ended with this article :

ARTICLE 9.—This decree shall be subject to the revision and approval of the legislature of the State at its next meeting in ordinary session and to that of the Federal Congress when constitutional order shall be restored, although it shall go into force as soon as published in the privileged towns.

Therefore, I order it to be printed, published, circulated, and duly enforced.

Done at Ciudad Victoria, March 17, 1858.

RAMON GUERRA.

JOSÉ MARIA OLVERA, *Chief Official.*

The foregoing decree was confirmed and amplified under the plea of establishing regulations for its execution by another decree of the Governor of Tamaulipas, bearing date of October 29, 1860. The former decree was submitted, in compliance with the provisions of its last article, to the legislature of the state, and also to the Federal Congress for its approval, and was sanctioned by the latter body July 30, 1861.

This brief statement will, I think, be sufficient to show that the establishment of the Free Zone was a step taken in fulfilment of the duty of self preservation, so to speak, and imitating similar measures adopted by the Congress of the United States, and that it was by no means a measure approved in a spirit of unfriendliness, much less of hostility, towards the United States, as has been generally believed in this country.

The second impression prevailing here in regard to the Free Zone is equally unfounded, as I will try to show. The events connected with the foreign intervention in Mexico did not permit the natural effects of the Free Zone to be felt in the country until the Republic returned to its normal condition, that is, until after the downfall of the French intervention and the so-called Empire of Maximilian, events which took place during the year of 1867. In January of 1868 I was called to the Treasury Department by President Juarez, and in my annual report to Congress, September 16 of that year, I stated that one of the causes of the then depleted condition of the Mexican Treasury was the large contraband trade that was carried on through the Free Zone and enjoyed by the frontier towns of Tamaulipas; further remarking that the custom-houses of those towns were scarcely able to meet their clerk and office expenses, and that this fact showed that the Free Zone had not made that region prosper; and that, in my opinion, that insti-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tution was not the proper remedy for the evil which it was intended to cure.

It is true that the privilege granted by the Free Zone to the inhabitants of the northern portion of Tamaulipas to import and consume foreign goods without paying federal duties, to store them in their own houses, and to keep them in bond for an unlimited time, was a powerful incentive to smuggling from the Free Zone either to Mexico or the United States; and that Mexico, which has suffered greatly by that result, has been obliged, with a view to the repression of smuggling, to establish a costly, oppressive, and complicated system of inspection; but protection to smuggling was not the object of the creators of the Free Zone, nor is it possible that smuggling should have been carried on to the prejudice of the United States, to the same extent to which it has been done to the disadvantage of Mexico.

As the duties levied by the Mexican tariff are much higher than those collected in the United States, it is evident that the most lucrative contraband trade, and the easier one to make, is that which is carried on to the detriment of the Mexican Treasury. Smuggling is more easily done in Mexico, because the Mexican frontier is very sparsely populated, and therefore the difficulty of guarding it is greatly increased, while the frontier of the United States is more thickly settled and better protected against illicit traffic.

It does not seem to me reasonable to imagine that the Free Zone was established for the purpose of encouraging smuggling, to the detriment of the United States Treasury, when in fact it harms Mexico to a much greater extent than it does this country, as, in order to injure the United States, the Mexicans would not be willing to injure themselves ten times as much; and if the contraband carried on under the shadow of the Free Zone was a sufficient reason for its suppression, the interest of Mexico in this matter would long since have settled the question.

Any human institution can be abused by men. The goods stored in the frontier towns of the United States, in accordance with the act of August 30, 1852, were easily smuggled into Mexico, and yet when the United States Congress passed that law, they did not intend, of course, to encourage smuggling, to the detriment of Mexico, although such was practically its result. In the same manner the Governor of Tamaulipas at first, and the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mexican Congress afterwards, did not intend, in establishing the Free Zone, to encourage smuggling, to the detriment of the United States. To prevent smuggling from the Free Zone, as far as this was possible, the Mexican Government has been obliged to duplicate its frontiers of inspection with the United States, at great expense and considerable inconvenience to bona-fide merchants, as it has, besides the custom-houses right on the boundary line with proper inspection between each of them, some distance further south, under the name of fiscal police, another system of custom-houses and inspection to prevent smuggling between the Free Zone and the rest of the country.

What would the people of the United States think if Mexico should charge that such provisions of the tariff of this country as are lower and more liberal than ours were enacted by the United States to encourage smuggling, or if they should demand that the tariff be changed because it did encourage smuggling? What would the people of this country think if we should ask them to repeal the act of August 30, 1852, because it encouraged smuggling in Mexico? The Mexican people feel exactly as the people of the United States would feel if the circumstances were reversed.

I think it will not be amiss to make a few remarks about the different phases that the Free Zone question has assumed in Mexico, since the restoration of the Republic in 1867. The Committee of Ways and Means of the Fifth Mexican Congress reported, in its session of 1870, a tariff bill which sanctioned the Free Zone, and this matter was fully discussed during the latter part of October and the beginning of November of that year. Members of the Cabinet have in Mexico, not only the privilege of the floor in both houses, as in the United States, but the right to participate in the debates and to express the views of the Executive. As Secretary of the Treasury of Mexico, I made a thorough study of this important and complicated subject, and I took part in that debate in the sessions of the House of the 28th and 29th of October, and 4th and 5th of November, 1870, making extended remarks against the Free Zone, and I recommended its abolition to Congress, in behalf of the Executive. The reasons which led me to this conclusion were mainly of a constitutional character, namely, that the Free Zone constituted a privilege in favor of a State, forbidden by our constitution; and that although I was aware that the situation of the frontier towns

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of Mexico required the adoption of suitable remedies, I thought that one could be found of such nature as would embrace the whole country, and be divested of the odious character of a privilege. My efforts were in vain; Congress voted in favor of the maintenance of the Free Zone; and although that vote never became a law, the tariff then under discussion nevertheless exercised great influence upon the existing and other administrations, as it showed what was the opinion of the representatives of the people on that question.

The abolition of the Free Zone was not agitated in Mexico after I left the Treasury Department in November, 1872. When four years later, in 1878, I was again at the head of that Department and saw that it was not possible then to abolish the Free Zone, because the frontier influences were then stronger than ever, I thought that we ought at least to make proper regulations, with a view to prevent, as far as possible, any abuses of its franchises, and the regulations of June 17, 1878, were then issued. After that there was a strong reaction in favor of the Free Zone, especially when General Gonzalez, a citizen of the State of Tamaulipas, became President from 1880 to 1884.

General Diaz succeeded General Gonzalez on December 1, 1884, and in a new tariff act issued by him, January 24, 1885, the Free Zone, which had been up to that time restricted to the State of Tamaulipas, was extended to the whole frontier, namely, to the States of Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Sonora and to the territory of the Lower California, for a distance of 20 kilometres from the boundary line, thereby placing it on a better footing than it was before, when it appeared as a privilege confined to a single State and denied to others which were exactly in the same condition. But the same tariff act, which so extended the Free Zone, limited considerably its franchises by the regulations contained in Chapter XII. of the tariff of January 24, 1885. The frontier towns and the representatives in Congress, however, exerted such pressure in the Federal Congress that by an act dated June 19, 1885, the limitations established in that tariff were suspended, and very liberal regulations were again adopted in the succeeding tariff of March 1, 1887, which remained in force until the present one of June 12, 1891, was issued. This act marked a new era, in so far as the Free Zone is concerned, as article 676 of the same subjects all foreign

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

goods coming to the Free Zone, which heretofore had been free of all import duties, to a duty of ten per centum upon the import duties in the other Mexican ports, excepting cattle of all kinds, which will pay full duties. I consider this provision as the beginning of a new system which will finally result in doing away with that institution.

As I have already remarked, the opinion of Mexican statesmen on the Free Zone question has been divided, some entertaining the belief that it should be abolished because it grants to one section of the country privileges which are not authorized by the constitution, and others, by far the largest number, holding that, under the circumstances, it was an imperative necessity, as its abolition would be equivalent to the destruction of the frontier. The friends of the Free Zone represented that the frontier towns of Mexico owed their prosperity to that institution, and that they could not exist without it. There was a coincidence, which is one of the causes that induced a great many Mexicans to attribute to the Free Zone more beneficial results than it has really produced, and this circumstance, to which I shall refer, has had a great influence in its maintenance and extension.

The situation of the Mexican frontier up to the beginning of the Civil War in the United States was, as I have already remarked, one of poverty and even of misery, and formed a striking contrast with the one existing on the other side of the Rio Grande. That war broke out almost simultaneously with the establishment of the Free Zone, and the situation of the Mexican frontier changed very materially as a consequence of the war, during which, and for some time afterwards, welfare and prosperity crossed from the left to the right bank of the Rio Grande, on account of the general prostration then prevailing in the South. Superficial observers attributed that prosperity not to its true cause, which, in my opinion, was the war, but to the Free Zone; and feeling convinced that it had been productive of extraordinarily favorable results, they naturally considered it as a panacea for all evils, and its extension as one of the country's most imperative necessities. The latter opinion finally prevailed in the councils of the Mexican Government from 1877 to 1885, and this led to the extension of the Free Zone to all the boundary States.

There is another point of view of this question, which, in my judgment, has so far passed entirely unnoticed. The Free

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Zone is really an advantage to the United States, since, as I have already stated, the Mexican system of legislation concerning customs and excise duties has generally been restrictive and even prohibitory, both by reason of the high import duties and of the existence of inferior custom-houses, and also of State and municipal taxes on foreign goods, which require vigilance and restrictions that cannot but hamper business transactions. Any relaxation of such a system of restriction cannot but be favorable to foreign nations trading with Mexico, and specially to a neighboring country like the United States, whose manufactures are mainly, if not exclusively, consumed on the Mexican frontier.

If the Free Zone has inconveniences for this country much less serious than those which it has for Mexico, it possesses, in my judgment, another decided advantage which has also remained hitherto unnoticed. It practically makes of a portion of Mexico a free market for all products and manufactures of the United States, since merchandise of all kinds from this country may be imported into and consumed on Mexican territory duty free, and be warehoused in the region of the zone for an unlimited time. No greater privileges can be asked for the commerce of a nation, and the only drawback in this respect that I see to the Free Zone is that it does not embrace the whole of Mexico. Supposing its privileges were extended to the whole of Mexico, would the United States consider the free admission of their products in my country as prejudicial to their interests? How strange it appears under this view of the question—the idea prevailing here that the Free Zone brings only harm to the United States and has been established to the advantage of only European goods, when the largest amount of goods imported there under its franchises are from the United States!

The Government of the United States has been recently trying in a very earnest manner to obtain from foreign countries, and specially from the American republics, the free entry, or the admission at a reduced rate of duties, of a limited number of its products and manufactures, and they naturally feel pleased when a new agreement is made. And yet the liberal terms provided by Mexico in favor of the free admission of all the products and manufactures of this country into our Free Zone, has been taken here as an unfriendly act on our part towards this country.

There can be no doubt as to the right of the Government of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mexico to establish such duties and regulations on the foreign trade of the country, even in case they would harm in any manner the mercantile interests of any other foreign nations, and I therefore think it unnecessary to establish the right of Mexico to adopt and maintain the Free Zone.

I think it proper on this occasion to state that the misunderstanding which has prevailed here with regard to the object and tendencies of the Free Zone and the manner in which that misunderstanding has been expressed by certain Federal and State officials, has really served as a powerful argument to the Mexican defenders of the Free Zone who accuse their opponents of subserviency to this country, attributing to them a design to sacrifice the interests of Mexico to the demands of the United States. It may not be out of place for me to quote here certain views regarding this aspect of the question that I expressed as Secretary of the Treasury of Mexico, in my annual report submitted to the Federal Congress under date of September 16, 1870, and which are as follows:

"The friendly representations made by the United States Government to that of the Republic in relation to the injury accruing to the United States from the Free Zone are also worthy of being taken into consideration by Congress not that it may seek to please the neighboring nation in a spirit of servility, at the expense of the rights and interests of the Republic, which it is under obligations to care for and uphold above everything else (which spirit would be unworthy of our national representatives); but as a neighborly act, and in order to have a right to be heard and treated with consideration in case that in the process of time some difficulty may arise on our northern frontier of such a nature as to possess, regarding Mexico, the character which the Free Zone possesses as regards our neighboring nation; in order, moreover, that Mexico may acquire a new title to be heard and considered in a cordial and friendly, as well as just and equitable, manner when she may have occasion to offer remonstrances with a view to the protection of her interests. A nation's dignity is not so well upheld by refusing to consider the moderate and amicable remonstrances of a neighboring nation, as it is by hearing and considering such remonstrances and then acting according to the requirements of justice."

For more detailed information on this subject, and especially for the English translation of some of the official documents bearing on the same, I refer the reader to a message which the President of the United States sent to the Senate on March 16, 1888 (Senate Exec. Doc. No. 130, Fiftieth Congress, 1st Session), and to the report and accompanying documents of the Comm

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, on the relations of the United States with Mexico, presented by Mr. Schleicher on the 25th of April, 1878 (House Report, No. 701, House of Representatives, Forty-fifth Congress, 2d Session).

I sincerely hope that the foregoing remarks will in some measure contribute to dispel the wrong impressions prevailing in the United States as to the Mexican Free Zone, and that thereby, when the agitation on this subject shall have completely disappeared, it will be then easier to adjust this matter in such a manner as will be honorable and satisfactory to all concerned.

M. ROMERO.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MODERN CART OF THESPIS.

BY W. H. CRANE.

THESPIS, the encyclopædias tell us, was born about 540 B. C., and is the earliest playwright mentioned in history. None of his works has descended to posterity, and probably posterity ought to be grateful. He was a Greek, and, if we may believe the scholarly opinion of Miss Clara Morris, who contributed a clever monograph on the drama to a popular magazine last autumn, the fewer we have of Greek plays the better. But the only relevancy of Thespis to the topic of this paper consists in this, that we actors are to this day universally styled Thespians, and that while the players of his dramas roamed over the country in carts, carrying their stage with them wherever they went, and were confined to a pretty peninsula jutting out from a lost corner of Europe, we Thespians of to-day cover in our journeys an immense empire, thousands of miles in extent and inhabited by the most restlessly intellectual and critically exacting people on the face of the earth.

There are now in the United States between twenty-five and twenty-eight hundred theatres and opera houses, of which the great majority are open to date-engagements, extending over various periods of time, from one night to a week, and, in some cases, a series of weeks. Such theatres exist in New York City, notably the "Grand Opera House" and the "People's," on whose boards plays run one week each, and no more. But when we leave the large cities, we find that every theatre is open to dates, and that very few towns support stock companies which can satisfy audiences through a season of forty weeks. In fact, the stock-company theatres in the great city of New York can be numbered on the fingers of one hand; and in the other large cities of the United States they are hardly a factor in the composition of our dramatic entertainment. The American stage has become essen-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tially peripatetic, as much so as the petty stage that delighted the rustics of Bœotia or Attica who stood with gaping mouths and attent ears about the carts of Thespis.

This fact is a natural result of an evolution which could have been foretold by any one who had made a proper estimate of the American character at the time when the urban population of the United States began to take on its extraordinary growth. Political economists tell us that the ratio of town dwellers to farm dwellers in the United States has greatly changed during the last three or four decades, and is still changing, and in the same direction, so that, whereas it might have been at one time as one to seven, it is now more like three to seven. One-half of the inhabitants of the State of New York live in cities, or in towns that are ambitious to become cities. These urban communities cannot support well-drilled stock companies, but they crave the service of good actors and the production of the best plays of the period; and it is a necessary consequence of our social scheme that what is wanted by any community that is able to pay for the satisfaction of its wants is certain to arrive. The mountain cannot come to Mahomet, therefore Mahomet goes to the mountain. Chicago cannot go to Paris to shudder with, and at, Bernhardt, therefore Bernhardt goes to Chicago, and "Fedora" and "Camille" become as real in some edifice built on what was recently an Illinois prairie as on the stage of the Théâtre Français. This illustration serves for the entire phenomenon. We may say of the American people, as Juvenal said of the Greeks of the time of Nero, "The whole nation is a travelling actor." At all hours of the twenty-four, railway trains are carrying companies of actors from one town to another, and new bills are being posted for each one of twenty-five hundred theatres.

The stars of the modern American stage do not, indeed, "shoot madly from their spheres," but their orbits are as varied, as constant, and nearly as rapid, as those of the cometic stars that, from time to time, adorn the skies. For them there is neither fixity nor rest, except during the languorous days of summer among the mountains or on the seashore. From September to June they shoot hither and thither, not as Goethe sings, "without haste, yet without rest," but (in sober verity) with great and anxious haste, and with no thought of present rest.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The members of a company must be collected at stated times, which wait for no man and hardly for a leading lady; railway trains must be boarded on the minute, nor will conductors cause a "lightning express" to tarry even to suit the tardy convenience of a Booth or a Bernhardt. It is these exigencies and anxieties, we say to one another, that wear us out before our time; and yet somehow we do not, as a matter of fact, wear out much sooner than others of our fellow beings, and many of our excellent actors whose lives are passed upon the road are in sound health and activity well up into the sixties.

The make-up of the numerous theatrical companies that annually take the road is not in the slightest degree that "fortuitous concourse of atoms" to which certain materialistic philosophers are wise enough to attribute the composition of the Universe. Every large city has dramatic agencies, on whose books actors of both sexes are entered and classified. From June to September, while the artists rest, the agencies are busy in mapping out the routes for the coming season. If an inexperienced person with some money, less knowledge, and a vast ambition to reap a harvest of fame and United States currency, visits an agency, he finds himself in possession of an option on talent of all descriptions, tragic, comic, farcical, musical, emotional, saltatory,—in a profusion surpassing his wildest dreams.

When he is brought face to face with the possessors of these gifts, the prospective manager is delighted to find that he has at command absolutely the best representatives of the modern drama. The moment is a golden one; a fortunate combination of circumstances has placed in his grasp an opportunity which could not have been foreseen, and may never occur again. An unequalled leading juvenile, whose press-notices are spread before him in quantities sufficient to fill a Saratoga trunk, happens at this precise moment to be disengaged. His usual salary has been three hundred a week, but, in consideration of the esteem in which he holds the prospective manager, he is willing to contract with this gentleman for the season on the basis of one hundred, of which four weeks are to be paid in advance, and charged to the last month of the season. The most brilliant lady in America (see her press-notices); the most talented second lady; the wittiest soubrette (press-notices again); the most accomplished all-round versa-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tile (see press-notices as to his renditions, whether of *Bob Acres* or the heavy father in "Hazel Kirke"); all these, together with the customary component parts of such a company as is required to make the proposed route an unqualified and unprecedented success, are bubbling over with the same esteem for the new manager, the same willingness to accept scaled-down salaries, and to receive four weeks pay in advance. There are absolutely no limits to their genius, their enthusiasm, and to their well-founded expectations touching the drafts which they will enable their fortunate director to make on the purses of the expectant public.

The reader can foretell with tolerable accuracy the destinies of such undertakings, so managed. If they were to succeed, it would compel a revision of all current theories of probabilities and, perhaps, of possibilities. It is computed by experienced theatrical managers and speculators that about one-half of the travelling dramatic companies lose money during each season. More than one-half of these companies are conducted over their routes by practised managers, who have been in the business long enough to know what to do and what to avoid doing; what leaks to stop; what means to take of "working the press"; to bill towns in advance; to enlist the good words of prominent people;—yet some of these experienced men fail to make money. And we may therefore assert that every beginner who forms a company out of the material in the dramatic market and starts out on the road with it is sure to lose all that he invests. It is quite on the cards also that after he has lost all his money, he will continue to play the desperate game on credit, and wind up with the sheriff in the box office and the wardrobes of his company held for board. Such exhibitions of human folly occur every year in large number and with monotonous regularity, and each one has a humorous as well as a melancholy side. We are compelled to smile at the simplicity of the man who puts faith in rural press-clippings from which all unfavorable criticisms are carefully excluded, and in the self-laudations of artists out of a job; while we lament that the earnings of years in some obscure but useful employment should be dissipated in a few weeks devoted to a vain search for renown and money. A philosopher who neither laughs nor weeps, but who observes human affairs calmly, notices with satisfaction that the funds thus scattered are not wasted; they swell the revenues of useful railways and local hotels; and there are worse methods of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spending money than in lining the pockets of unapplauded actors, since these are not wholly depraved, and may come in time to praise themselves less, and to deserve that the public should praise them more.

Unsuccessful ventures imply that successful ventures exist, and they therefore are the results of imitation attempted with insufficient or unsuitable material. Their fatal no-logic consists in this, that, whereas good dramatic companies are well compensated, therefore bad ones will be. Thrown into the form of a syllogism, the argument would read as follows:

A. B., the manager of the celebrated star, Mr. Blank, cleared forty thousand dollars on the road last season with a trained company whose capacities were well known to him.—I propose to start out this season without a celebrated star, and with a company hastily put together, touching whose capacities I am experimentally ignorant. *Therefore,* I expect to clear forty thousand dollars.

The absurdity of this conclusion is so obvious that we are compelled to believe one of two things: either that the unlucky speculators do not reason over the matter at all; or that they proceed on the supposition that the inhabitants of our interior towns are so greedy for entertainment that they will readily accept whatever shows travelling managers choose to bring them. And perhaps the motive power behind all these dramatic failures is a combination of the stupidity and the false hypothesis which we have depicted.

"Against stupidity even the gods themselves fight in vain," says the German poet, and if the gods give it up, we certainly must. But as to this hypothesis that the audiences of the American inland are not good judges of dramatic performances, we may be pardoned a few words that may not be wholly useless.

A thousand people, from the age of sixteen upwards, in an interior town, of the class that can afford good seats at the theatre, are, in the aggregate, better read in dramatic and general literature, and have more clearly defined theories of intellectual enjoyment, than a thousand people taken in mass from the parquette and balcony of a New York theatre on any given evening. This is assertion, but it is based on sound reason. People in the interior do not work so hard, they think more, they read more, they discuss current and literary topics more thoroughly. Life

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with them is not a constant excitement ; not a round of excesses, both in pleasure and business, as the case is with the wealthier portions of the population of a metropolis. Magazine editors tell us that rural readers are not only the mainstay of these periodicals, but that they are the most critical and appreciative. People in great cities are too busy to criticise dramatic performances ; they go to the theatre to be amused, and their subsequent comments amount to nothing more than vague expressions of superficial opinion. The writers of the dramatic columns in the morning journals are paid to criticise plays and players, and it is easier to echo these practised scribes than to frame new theories.

Charles Dickens illustrates this condition in "Nicholas Nickleby." Nicholas, during his career as an actor, visits sundry citizens of Portsmouth in order to sell tickets for a benefit. One of the Portsmouth *bourgeoisie* buys tickets in order to encourage the Drama, of whose decadence he speaks in melancholy terms, just as many people do to-day, and earnestly begs the young actor to do all in his power to restore that veneration and regard for the "Unities of the Drama," whose welfare ought to be dear to all playgoers. Here is a rural shop-keeper who knew what the "Unities" are. If you were to take your note-book to-night and interview all the people in the parquette of "Palmer's," "Daly's," or the "Star," what sort of answers would you write down as to what the "Unities" are? And yet whole folios have been written to enunciate the principle that adherence to the "Unities" is the first law of a symmetrical play.

All over the United States the people of the towns know what good acting is, and they know who the good actors are, and what the good plays of the period are, and they expect to get the good plays represented by the good actors, and staged and acted in the best manner, and nothing short of this triple combination will satisfy them. And when this combination is accomplished, there is no talk among the members of the company about attachments at the box-office or counting the railway ties on the journey home. Success is mapped out as an accomplished fact, as clearly as the proposed route ; and the manager may count with certitude on the expected profits of the season. This certitude obtains in the case of numerous companies whom it would be invidious to name, although we may say that in each of these cases the play is of distinguished merit and the star is famous. In

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

short, the interior public demands renowned stars in renowned plays.

The star-system has been much criticised and often condemned, but it is worth while to pause before we criticise and condemn established facts that are the product of natural evolution. Certainly, when we go to see and hear "Hamlet," we wish to have the exhibition as good as it is possible to make it. But whoever represents *Hamlet* to us with fidelity and genius is entitled to the name of a star. This designation is not one that is affixed at will to an artist; it attaches itself to him from the nature of the case; he is a star, therefore he is styled one.

That people should wish to see a distinguished artist in a play of undoubted merit and attractiveness, in the rendition of the principal character in which he has shown himself to be specially qualified, is perfectly natural and proper; and this wish is the basis of the success of the star-system, which is now so firmly incorporated with our dramatic destinies, that our great actors have come to look upon New York city as a mere incident in a season of forty weeks, and as entitled to receive its proportion of time relatively to the other towns of the United States,—say one-twentieth, and not much more.

The better-class audiences of the towns of the United States will not tolerate inferior plays by inferior actors; and those who believe that they will, and who act on that belief, will soon discover their mistake. Nor does it ever answer for the best companies to cut out vital portions of plays in order to shorten the hours, or to introduce gags, whether local or not. The path of safety and success lies in the direction of scrupulous respect to an approved text of the play, and an earnest endeavor all through the performance to do and say with the utmost care and artistic finish all that is to be done and said.

That the travelling-star system magnifies the personal qualities of the actor at the expense of the literary quality of the drama is an unfounded conclusion. Dramatic composition follows fashions, and those fashions are the product of their times. The Shakesperian drama is conspicuous by its illustrations of great passions, such as jealousy, in "Othello," and reckless ambition, as in "Macbeth;" and in no plays that have since been written has there been greater room for the display of genius in the prominent rôles, that is, for the star actor. In the drama of the Restoration and that of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the last century in England, when all good English acting was confined to the stock companies of London, and all provincial troupes were mere gangs of barn-stormers, the interest and plot depend upon the combination of character, not upon the relations of any single one to the rest. In the "School for Scandal" nearly every one of the characters is required to be impersonated by a fairly good artist, and the comedy goes off well even when none of the artists rises above that level. Such is not the fashion of the present day. In the great majority of the plays which command success throughout the United States, one conspicuously good, and therefore celebrated, artist is the pivotal figure; the drama centres in him or her, and the execution must be commensurate. What would be said of a fairly good *Camille*, a fairly good *Fedora*, a fairly good *Hamlet?* These are the *Camilles*, *Fedoras*, and *Hamlets* that fail; but a fairly good *Charles Surface* is not a failure, because, even if he "come tardy off," we still have left the glitter and blaze and wit of the other characters, the sophisms of *Joseph*, the baleful advocacies of *Mrs. Candor*, the sneers of the *Backbites*. But the "School for Scandal" is not a play to take on the road; nor is any play fit for this purpose if it has been originally constructed for a stock company.

We are not forecasting in this paper the future of our Drama, but we think we are safe in saying that stock companies will be during a long period (in the United States) the exception rather than the rule; that the best and most popular plays will be, like the works of Sardou, written with reference to star-acting of an emotional or humorous type, and of the highest attainable degree of excellence. In many of our American towns audiences may not become more critical and exacting, but the number of towns in which audiences shall be critical and exacting will during many years constantly increase. The system of travelling companies will become more solidified, and, in the true acceptation of the word, scientific; since science is only another term for the prevision of events, and the wise manager has it in his power to be in touch at all times with the dramatic taste and requirements of every town in the country, and to regulate his operations accordingly. By so doing, he elevates them from the grade of ventures to that of comparative certainties.

WILLIAM H. CRANE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MONEY AND USURY.

BY HENRY CLEWS.

WE HAVE no record in any period of the social history of our planet when men were not in the habit of paying for the use of the property of other men. Such compensation marks the dawn of civilization—a time when it was discovered to be better to hire another man's goods or lands than to kill him for the sake of becoming their owner. An equivalent for the use of lands or buildings we style rent; for the use of chattels, hire; for the use of money, interest. One of the most noticeable facts about the last-named equivalent is that in almost all communities its amount, as related to the material for the use of which it is paid, has been made the subject of legislation. Laws have never been enacted regulating the prices of rents or of the hire of chattels, but statutes regulating the interest of money are beyond computation as to number; and their existence dates back to epochs beyond which public record and the memory of mankind run not to the contrary.

Since this is an undeniable fact, there must be a reason for its origin and its persistent vitality. May not this be the reason?—that money not being a commodity, but the representative of all commodities, capable of passing through all metamorphoses of lands, houses, cattle, grain,—in short, of all transferable things whatsoever,—may be said to have an unchangeable value, whereas every commodity is constantly undergoing changes of value: *therefore*, while the owner of any commodity may lawfully demand any price he pleases for the use of such property, and take all he can get, the owner of money must not demand or take more than a certain price, which price shall be stated by the lawmakers of the community. This is, we think, if it be granted that money is not a commodity, the logical basis of usury laws. We do not

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

assert that usury laws are enacted solely in order to assert a principle. As a matter of fact, they are placed on the statute-books in deference to a sentiment which is supposed to pervade the public mind, that poor people must be protected from the rapacity of money-lenders.

It will not be difficult to show that the alleged principle on which usury laws are based is illogical; and, further, that, as a matter of fact, these laws do not prevent poor borrowers, or borrowers upon hazardous pledges, from paying high prices for the use of money. That money is not a commodity because it is the representative and summary and equivalent of all commodities is a conclusion which is not only open to doubt, but may be with reason flatly denied. That the greater includes the less is an axiom; and if money includes all commodities, it must itself be the greatest of commodities. The advocates of usury laws assert that money is merely a measure of values, and is, in fact, a yard-stick. But this definition fails to explain how it is that the amount of cloth set off by this yard-stick changes from day to day; whereas the first essential of a measure is that it shall be uniform and unchanging. In fact, it is impossible to demonstrate that money is in any respect a "measure of value." This phrase, although much used and abused by writers on political economy, has no real meaning. There is, indeed, no measure of value except it be the general average resulting in society from the continually varying relations which commodities bear to each other in respect of prices. To-day a bushel of No. 1 winter wheat shall be exchangeable for a barrel of crude petroleum, or ten yards of sheeting, or one gold dollar; to-morrow the same bushel of wheat shall be exchangeable for two barrels of crude petroleum, or fifteen yards of sheeting, or one gold dollar and a half. Where do we find the "measure of value" here? And if we are baffled by this problem of four bodies, how are we to solve the problem of the four thousand bodies that compose the system of commercial products?

We venture the opinion that money is not only an admitted equivalent for all commodities, but is itself a commodity and the greatest of commodities in this respect—that it is the most strongly desired, the most widely known, and the most universally possessed. It cannot be a measure of values, because there is no measure of values; and the nearest approach to such a phenome-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

non is the opinion of those who possess exchangeable commodities and who wish to exchange them. And if it is not a measure of values it must be a commodity, because it is continually made the subject of exchange all over the world.

Some writers have asserted that money is not a commodity, because it is neither produced nor consumed. The objection to this statement is that the statement is not true. Money is both produced and consumed. It is first dug out of the earth, and afterward it undergoes a constant consumption by abrasion and by being used in the arts. It is estimated that the production of gold keeps but slightly in advance of its consumption year by year, while in the last twenty years the production of silver has been much in excess of the consumption. Therefore the relations of gold and silver have changed. Gold is dearer and silver is cheaper. This one fact shows that the precious metals, which by the common consent of mankind are money, are in truth commodities. If they fail to be measures of value each of the other, much more must either or both of them fail to be measures of value of all other commodities.

We have dwelt at such perhaps needless length on this question of the real nature of money in order to determine the problem whether laws enacted to fix the price of the use of money have a basis of reason, and have any more right to exist than laws enacted to fix the price of wheat, cotton, and sugar. Laws of the latter class are not wholly unknown. The ignorant and cruel men who got into temporary power in France in 1793 enacted various statutes of this character. There had been a bad season, and grain and beef were scarce. Domiciliary visits, and the pressing attentions of numerous patriots who were anxious to furnish a hundred heads of other people to the guillotine daily, had made Paris an undesirable place of residence. Consequently such butchers and bakers as were courageous enough to do business in Paris considered themselves entitled to charge such a profit on beef and bread as would reimburse costs of purchase and compensate the risks of so dangerous a place of abode. But the Dantons and the Robespierres saw in this reasonable course of dealing a heinous crime against the republic. They therefore enacted that the butchers and bakers of the municipality should furnish so many pounds of beef and bread for so much, and no more, in francs or assignats; and, further, that paper assignats

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should be as good as silver francs. A good many butchers and bakers went to the scaffold for disobeying these laws; many more closed their shops or left Paris; and the capital was on the brink of starvation when of their own accord the ruling demagogues suffered the laws to become a dead-letter. In fact, there was no alternative, since no community can thrive under laws that conflict with nature; and if the penalty for the infraction of such laws is death, the community would soon cease to exist at all.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that the traffic in money should be free, as it is in all lawful commodities between citizens of the same commonwealth. In other words, no reason worth the name exists why a person having money which he is able to spare to the uses of others should not receive from them such compensation for its use as he and they may by contract agree upon. And all reasons urged against usury will be found to be either wholly sentimental or based upon misconceptions of the true functions of money.

Possibly if there were an inherent quality in lent money by virtue of which loans would invariably return to their owners at certain definite times, there might be a semblance of justice in limiting the rent for use, although there would then be a departure from the true principle of unfettered dealings between citizens. And in such a case there would be no occasion for usury statutes, since now in all the markets of the world the interest of loans made on absolutely the best securities is below the limit set by law. But the tendency of lent money, except upon such securities, is not to return to its owners; on the contrary, its tendency is to remain in the hands of the borrowers, or to be dissipated by them and lost to the lenders. As securities become weaker, this tendency becomes stronger; and where there is no security or pledge at all, loans are rarely repaid. The probabilities, therefore, on all loans, excepting those made on collaterals that are absolutely as valuable as money itself, are an infinite series of variations; and the scale of compensation, from its own nature, is correspondingly flexible.

The rent of money in all such cases ceases to be rent pure and simple; it is to a definite extent rent; then to a much larger extent, insurance, since there must be losses, and the good debtors must pay for the bad ones; then to a still larger extent, compensation for the opprobrium that an absurd senti-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mentalism attaches to the title of usurer, and also for the risks that the lender runs in some States of the United States, noticeably New York, of not only forfeiting the loan, but of being arrested and criminally punished for usury. In the State of New York a few years ago it was lawful to lend money at 7 per cent. and criminal to lend it at 8; it is now in the same State lawful to lend it at 6 and criminal to lend it at 7. A movement is now on foot to make it lawful to lend it at 5 and criminal to lend it at 6. If there is any reason or justice in such legislation as this, there will be just as much in finally enacting that no one shall receive any rent at all for the use of money. In fact, such a statute as this would be best for the community, since it would be wholly and universally disregarded, and would lead to practically free dealings in money.

That usury statutes do not prevent borrowers on dubious securities from accepting loans at all sorts of rates above those fixed by law may be deduced from the nature of the case itself, and may be illustrated by continually recurring facts. In the State of New York, where usury statutes are more vigorous than in other States of the Union, not only imposing forfeitures of loans, but also fine or imprisonment or both, all loans on second mortgages, chattel mortgages, unlisted stocks, and the thousand other insecurities which are constantly made the pretext for borrowing money, are negotiated at from 10 to 150 per cent. per annum. Pawnbrokers are permitted to charge 36 per cent.; and the license which the State thus grants them for a consideration shows that our legislators do not regard usury as a crime *per se*, but that it is a technical villany which one may practise to any extent so long as one pays the State for the privilege: and yet the pawnbroker can much better afford to content himself with a small percentage than the lender on unlisted stocks or on chattel mortgages. In fact, hardly any percentage is a fair equivalent for the risks run by the latter classes. Unlisted stocks are, as a whole, no more available than waste paper if the lender wishes to recoup from any other person than the borrower; and chattel mortgages are not a security at all, since the borrower retains the basis or subject of the loan in his own possession, and, although he gives, over his seal and signature, the right to the lender to enter his premises and take the alleged pledge in default of payment, yet the courts hold that it is trespass to make such an

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

entry if the borrower chooses to shut his doors; and hardly a month passes in which holders of chattel mortgages are not arrested and locked up or held to bail, in the city of New York, for this species of trespass. Such conditions are powerful factors in determining the prices which borrowers on chattel mortgages are required to pay for the use of money. The customary practice is that the borrower agrees to repay for each ten dollars which he receives twelve dollars and a half within two or three months, or at the rate of 100 to 150 per cent. per annum.

This is not interest: it is insurance against the dishonesty of the borrower (and borrowers on such insecurities are frequently dishonest) and against arrest and criminal prosecution, since such things are of constant occurrence. People who do not want to return borrowed money find no difficulty in procuring warrants from police justices against their creditors who have agreed with them to commit usury. In fact, under the Penal Code the magistrate has no option. The statute is perfectly clear:—"A person who directly or indirectly receives any interest, discount, or consideration, upon the loan or forbearance of money, goods, or things in action, greater than is allowed by statute, is guilty of a misdemeanor." All misdemeanors are criminal, and are punishable by fine or imprisonment, or both. Hence, if a citizen swears to such a misdemeanor, the magistrate must issue a summons or warrant against the trespasser. If the majority of borrowers were base enough to avail themselves of this absurd statute, all transactions in money except on choice securities "on call" would cease; but since only a small minority resort to the police courts to evade payment, the statute accomplishes this result: that lenders who might otherwise content themselves with 30 per cent. demand and receive 100 or 150.

People who want to borrow money on securities more or less inferior to those regarding which there is no question, have such a thorny road to travel that legislatures can do them no greater injustice than to compel them to be parties to an unlawful act, while they are simply striving to accomplish a lawful purpose. Any human being has a right to ask any other human being for a loan of money: getting it is quite another thing. One ought not, as a rule, to get it unless he offers an equivalent. All the harmonious operations of nature result from the action of equiva-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lents ; but the possessor of money *may* be willing to exchange its use for something that is not as good as itself, provided the risks are fairly compensated. What these risks are can never be absolutely or definitely ascertained, even by diligent research into each particular case ; but surely no persons are so well fitted to investigate and settle them as the two parties who are negotiating. Certainly there is more risk in lending money on a chattel mortgage, or a second real-estate mortgage, or a trader's note, than in lending on bar silver or government bonds ; and unreasonable borrowers are satisfied to compensate lenders for such increased risks, and lenders are not foolish enough to part with money unless they are thus compensated ; but the legislature enacts that no such difference exists, and that all parties to transactions in money must disobey the mandates of reason in order to obey the mandates of the statute-book. The statute is on a par with one which should enact that the sun must rise at the same hour every day in the year. There are inconveniences in being in dubious credit, and there are inconveniences in having short days in December ; but since both are the results of natural causes, which have always operated and will always go on operating, we submit that statutes in either case are not particularly valuable.

The path ought to be made smoother for really deserving borrowers whose securities happen to be not of a high order ; but usury statutes prevent any such amelioration, and, on the other hand, add to the natural difficulties. The lender says, with justice, to the would-be borrower : " You approach me with something which is not the equivalent of what you want to obtain from me ; further, you invite me to become an accessory to a misdemeanor that is criminally punishable in my person, but not in yours ; so that the law virtually punishes me, and pardons you, for an offence of which we are equally guilty, and thus commits a great injustice ; and, finally, you get all the benefit of the crime, and are absolved from paying what you owe, if you see fit to lodge a complaint against me in a criminal court or defend a suit in a civil court. Under such circumstances my price for the use of my money is 100 per cent. per annum." The borrower answers : "I am not the kind of person to treat any one who lends me money in the manner you mention, and my intention is to repay the loan." "Very well," replies the lender ; "it is quite possible that

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

you are not that kind of person, and then again it is possible that you may be; at any rate, the law puts it in your power to be, and you voluntarily place yourself in a class of lawbreakers whom a wise legislature has licensed to break laws with impunity. I refuse to take chances except at the rate mentioned."

Such a borrower may be compared to an honest sailor who has been pressed into service on a pirate ship—he is voyaging in bad company, and need expect no mercy. And yet the statutes that place him in such a position are the very ones that have been enacted to improve his condition and his facilities for commerce with his fellow men!

That bodies of men chosen by their communities at home should hold sessions professedly in the interests of the people, and enact usury statutes, would be a remarkable phenomenon did we not know that nothing is remarkable in the annals of lawmaking, and that collective folly is as natural to legislative assemblies as to breathe or walk about. Said Oxenstiern: "Go forth, my son, and see with how little wisdom the world is governed." Said Napoleon: "The lawmakers of the convention of '93 were a set of idiots." History has already passed upon Napoleon's Berlin decrees and his other laws against the use of and traffic in English merchandise. The witchcraft laws of New England have died; Quakers are no longer persecuted in Massachusetts and Connecticut; Great Britain has abolished all usury statutes; Connecticut has done the same, as well as many of her sister States; they never have disfigured the statute-books of California; but in New York, the greatest of the States, the most commercial, the richest, the State *par excellence*, where the fullest play should be given to the traffic in useful commodities, it is a crime to lend money on time at 7 per cent. per annum!

Usury statutes undoubtedly date from the days of Moses and the departure from Egypt. Exodus XXII., verses 25 and 26, enacts as follows: "If thou lend money to any of my people that is poor by thee, thou shalt not be to him as an usurer, neither shalt thou lay upon him usury. If thou at all take thy neighbor's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him by that the sun goeth down." This statute, however, did not forbid usury in its entirety; it permitted the Jew to demand any rate that might suit him from the Canaanites and the Philistines. And it is an inferior justification of any unnatural law at the present

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

age of the world that it was once in authority among the members of a tribe of ignorant people, who had just escaped from a prolonged season of servitude, and were the subjects of a sumptuary and inquisitorial legislation such as has never been equalled on this planet.

Laws that regulate the rate of interest in cases where no contract is made, or on sums that have become overdue, are natural and reasonable; but no legislation can be seriously defended that attempts to prohibit one citizen from making any contract with another, touching useful commodities or services, which both agree to; still less where it brands one of the contracting parties with guilt and enables the other party to rob him with impunity, and even to procure his incarceration. If we are wrong in this way of thinking, we prefer to be wrong in company with the enlightened sense of Great Britain, Connecticut, and California—to mention no others—rather than to be right in company with the antiquated sense of New York, and of the Israelites of some thousands of years ago, just escaped from servitude under the Egyptians.

HENRY CLEWS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE OLYMPIAN RELIGION.

II.—OUTLINE OF ITS PARTICULARS.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

I HAVE already referred in the two previous articles to the sources and authorship of the Olympian religion. In this and the succeeding article I shall examine its particulars, with only one preliminary observation. For the present purpose it should be viewed apart from the forms which it had assumed in the historic period, and from the religion of the Italian peninsula.

What, we have to ask, was the substance of this Olympian religion? what was its pervading character? and what were its leading and governing details? It seems, at first sight, as if it could be principally described by negatives. For example: in the Achaian army before Troy, and in the Greek peninsula at the period of the "Troica," we have no sign of the great institution of Priesthood. Nor did priests, in the historic period, ever become a real power in Greek society, although the office continued to be one of dignity. Again: as there was no priestly order, so there were no sacred Books. If we consider how in the two great divisions of Latin Christendom, respectively, the priesthood and the Bible supply the most powerful of all living forms, we shall be able to see how much this double negation means. There was not, indeed, any collective organization; or any provision for unity; or any moral code; or any standing office of instruction for those who professed the religion, either in their youth or in mature age. There were sacrifices, greater and smaller, which were offered originally by the king, or in private by the head of the house. These we may consider, on one side, as a kind of bribe to the gods; but, on the other hand, and for the better minds, they had in them an element of reverence and piety. There were prayers, limited indeed and jejune as compared with the prayers of the gospel, but yet, in Homer's time, of frequent practice, and of some dis-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ciplinary and educative power. Certain points of natural morality were very strongly recognized by men: the care of the supreme god* for the suppliant and the supplicant, which thus far made weakness a sacred thing; the tenderness and regard† which every man had for his wife; the strong and even fastidious sense of personal decency; the stringent law of incest and an utter estrangement from all offences contrary to nature.

In truth, and without exaggeration, the extreme forms of sin, some of them still rampant even in Christian countries, may be said to have been unknown among the Achaian Greeks, as they are represented in the Homeric Poems. All these points, here summarily stated, deserve a careful examination. There were also the sacredness of the oath, the inviolability of marriage, the respect paid to age; which were, each in its degree, props to religion. But over and above all these, it is plain, when we contemplate the Achaian mind and life, that religion was, at the Homeric period, a present, familiar, and active idea in the common life of the common man. It came spontaneously to the front in every serious occasion of existence. The religious man was also the man socially and morally good. Humanity, in its youth, had not licensed the odious art of setting up abstract opinions, or professions of belief, as substitutes for right conduct, or apologies for its absence. The idea of a divine power, whether conceived in the singular or the plural, and although subsisting in a most imperfect shape, was, I think, nearer to the still childlike mind of the Achaian Greek than it is under the rule of a far purer creed, when life has become so much more complex and artificial. Of course I make an exception of those who have made the things unseen a matter of serious personal concern for themselves, to live and to die by. The Olympian scheme may have become for the Romans, in the main, an instrument of civil government; for the average educated Greek of the classical period little better than a shadow; but there still lingered something of an archaic sincerity about the Homeric system. As a religion it was indeed weak, narrow, and inadequate; from some points of view even dangerous because seductive; yet, after all, it was a religion.

In two important points the religion was particularly weak. One of these was its relation to a future life. The delineation of the Under-world in the "Odyssey," though it rises high at times in

* Il., XIII., 624; XXI., 75. Od., IX., 270; XVI., 422. † Il., IX., 341.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

poetical excellence, and abounds in characteristic touches, appears to be based entirely upon foreign, and perhaps principally Egyptian, traditions, which it enfeebles in their most essential points. It is gloomy and dreary, hopeless and helpless; but it does not present to us any picture of actual retribution except in the cases of two persons, Tantalos and Sisuphos, of foreign extraction and probably foreign birth.* Tituos and Orion are also here, but neither of them is to be considered as akin to the Achaians. Minos † administers justice among the dead (*themisteuei*) apparently as a judge would in a human community. Heracles appears in sorry plight, but it is his Shade only, and he himself is among the Immortals. Upon the whole, there is not given, for the Achaians, any connection between general conduct and future happiness or misery; and when Menelaos ‡ receives the promise of a state of bliss, it is not for his virtues, which seem to have been great, but because he is the husband of Helen, and the son-in-law of Zeus.

This doctrine of a future life, feeble in Homer, and without effective sanction, becomes wholly ineffective in historic Greece. But there is one marked exception supplied by the Poet in the case of what may be termed political perjury. For here the Powers that ruled below are invited to inflict the vengeance; and on this occasion only are Nature-powers invoked by the Achaians, because their general residence, according to the poet, is in the Under-world. Tartaros itself appears to have been a place for the punishment of gods guilty of rebellion, in conjunction with whom it is particularly named. But although in the case of political perjury the tie between the two worlds is recognized,§ the Poet does not anywhere venture upon applying the doctrine by specifying any person as having suffered, or as being about to suffer, the punishment.

Upon the whole, in respect to the doctrine of a future life, the Olympian system takes its place far beneath older religions, especially those exhibited in the Zendavesta and the Egyptian monuments. It can hardly be affirmed, as respects the second point I have to name, that the comparison with Asia, even including the Hebrews, or with Egypt, is similarly disadvantageous to Achaian religion. It is the profoundly important point of sexual morality. In the "Iliad" monogamy is geographically separated from polygamy by the Hellespont; and I

* Od., XI., 582-600. † Od., XI., 563. ‡ Od., IV., 563-569. § Il., III., 278; XIX., 259.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suppose it is to be assumed that under this head a monogamous people probably stood higher, in conception and in practice, than one which had polygamy practically exhibited before its eyes as a recognized institution. It is, however, obvious that among the Achaian Greeks there was no fixed restraint upon licentiousness of the ordinary kind, unless it were within the bond of marriage. The concubines of many chieftains before Troy are named in the "Iliad"; and when Briseis (herself a substitute for the daughter of Chruses) is taken away from Achilles, another substitute is supplied for his bed.* But Agamemnon does not rest upon the plea of long-continued absence from home when he announces his intention to install the daughter of Chruses as a mistress at his palace in Argos, despite the claims of Klutaimnestra.† Further, we learn that, when Eurucleia was purchased by Laertes, there was no unlawful connection between them, because, and as it seems only "because, he eschewed the resentment of his wife."‡ On the other hand, the illicit relations between a portion of the women servants in the palace of Odysseus and the Suitors are mentioned among the justifying causes for putting them all to an ignominious death.§ Speaking more generally, it cannot be doubted that the common idea of marriage in the Poems, probably in harmony with the general practice, is elevated and pure. Except where an idea of that description was prevalent, such a scene as the sixth "Iliad" gives us between Hector and Andromachè could hardly have been conceived; and much less could the wonderful history and character of Penelopè.

It may, however, be said that, viewing the licentiousness of many among the divinities, we can give no credit to the religion for any actual or relative chastity found among the Achaians. Undoubtedly the moral law had less application, under the Olympian system, to those divinities than to men. But we must always bear in mind not only that there were models of strict purity among them, but that we must distinguish between the mythological incidents of the scheme and a true religious heart, quite out of keeping with those incidents, which had not yet ceased to beat within it. It may still remain a question whether the superiority over the Trojans in regard to sexual license, which is traceable

* Il., IX., 663-665. † Il., I., 29-31; 109-115. ‡ Od., I., 429-433. § Od., XXII., 440-445; 462-644.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the Poems, may have been largely due to that principle of self-command, or *sophrosunè*, which was so deeply imbedded in the Grecian character.

There are, in effect, three characteristics to which I attach especial weight as proving of themselves that the Olympian scheme of Homer exhibits a real and practical, though an imperfect, and not only an imperfect, but at certain points a contaminated, religion.

Firstly, it embodies the doctrine of Providence, or an actual divine government in human affairs; not only as worked by the gods, but also as recognized by and familiar to the minds of men.

Secondly, it exhibits a constant resort to prayer in present emergencies. This practice does not extend to a concern with remote events; and the prayer is in most cases limited to the needs or aims of the person who offers it. If it be a public prayer, then, of course, it embraces collectively the case of all those whom the person offering it may represent.

Beyond this, it seems clear that there was an act of worship not only in the sacrificial feasts, but at every meal or entertainment, at the least where animal food was used.*

Thirdly, it appears that worship and moral conduct were regarded as having some real connection one with the other. The virtue specially religious was the care of the suppliant and the stranger; but the *theoudès*, the devout or pious man, is never a man of wicked life, and the case of Hector may be taken as one which exhibits liberality to the gods in sacrifice as suitably associated with affectionate, upright, and warmly patriotic character.

If we look beneath the surface, the affairs of this world are, in truth, governed, according to the poems, by the interplay of three agencies. These are: (*a*) the gods; (*b*) destiny; (*c*) human will. And the acts of men and events of life are the resultant, to use the phrase of mechanics, from these competing forces, each of which is real, and acts upon, and is limited by, the others.

The limit on the power of gods is exhibited by Telemachos, when Nestor has suggested that, with Athenè's aid, he might be able to give the Suitors something else to think about than wedding or wooing Penelopè. "Ah, no," replies † the rather feeble-minded youth, "that is indeed a great affair, and not within the compass of my hope; no, not though the gods should will it."

* Il., IX., 206-221, and Od., XIV., 435. † Od., III., 225–228.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here he manifestly is not thinking of any obstacle which destiny might offer, but of the strength of the Suitors, which gods could not overcome, or else of the lack of strength in himself, which they could not sufficiently supply. For this Athenè (as Mentor) rebukes him, and holds that the thing can be done; but immediately proceeds to bring into view that other limitation: "impartial, all-sweeping death cannot be warded away by gods, even from their favorites, when the hour has sounded for the destiny of natural dissolution to take effect." * Again, Telemachos replies: "Think not of saving Odysseus; already the Immortals have designed death and dark fate for him." † Here we have the three powers shown in separate action, and finally one of them overcome by the action of the other two.

Destiny may overcome man; or, again, man may overcome destiny. ‡ Destiny may be too strong § even for god and man united. Again, gods or a god may overcome man; but nowhere do we find that man overcomes a recognized Achaian god. Especially the combination of god and destiny, the *moira theou*, can bring about the strangest falls, such as that of Queen Klutaimnestra, who was good before she yielded to the great temptation, enhanced, probably, by her resentment. ‖

Again, the very highest divine power, represented in Zeus, may set destiny aside and overrule it; ¶ but it is an extreme exercise of prerogative, and will not be approved by the Court of the Olympian heaven.

Great advantage has been obtained, in the study of prehistoric religions, from tracing the roots of the names given to the several divinities. While the Homeric poems offer remarkable facilities for establishing the connection of religion with ethnography, it must be admitted that, with regard to the significations of names, they furnish us with little assistance by well-established conclusions as regards the principal or properly-Olympian deities, if we except the single case of Zeus, on account of his affinity with Dyæus. According to the accounts given by Herodotos, most of the names were derived from Egypt; the remainder from the Pelasgians, excepting that of Poseidon, which he conceives to be Libyan. ** He perhaps had in view the names of Phta for Hephaistos, and that of Neith for Athenè, which seem, how-

* Od., 230–238. † Ibid., 240–242. ‡ Il., XVI., 730. § Od., III., 227–228. ‖ Od., III., 265, 266. ¶ Il., XVI., 441. ** Herod., II., 50.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ever, to be disputed. What others he meant to indicate it is hard to say. Among the names he excepts is that of Themis. But Themis appears to have been Themsi, the Egyptian goddess of justice.* He seems to be right in saying that some of those names were derived from the Pelasgians, whom we may presume to be largely represented by the Albanians of the present day ;† a race never Hellenized like their congeners farther south in the peninsula. Hahn, in his "Albanesische Studien," traces etymologically to the primitive tongue of the country the names of Zeus, Demeter, Okeanos, Thetis, Helios, Rhea, Kronos. Not one of these, except the first, belongs to the grand living and working thearchy of Homer. Hahn also gives a root for Themis,‡ which means saying or speaking, but this is far less probable than Wilkinson's suggestion drawn from an Egyptian source.§

If we find a root for Zeus both in Indian and in Albanian speech, this, as far as it goes, tends to show that the deity was worshipped over wide spaces, and among nations which had long lost all connection one with another ; and even suggests, that his name may have been the representation of a deity single and supreme.

We have seen that Hahn gives the names of six other deities mentioned in Homer.‖ It is remarkable that here he confirms the evidence of the Poems, for every one of them appears there in connection, not with the Olympian system, but with the dynasties of what Mr. Grote has called the foretime.

Who, then, were the individual deities, that inhabited the palaces constructed for them by the skill of Hephaistos within the folds of Olympos ? ¶

We must discard, in answering this question, all regard to the number twelve, which, if warranted by Latin traditions, has no place in the scheme of Homer. The only numerical indication he has given us is that Thetis, on her visit to Hephaistos, finds that deity engaged in constructing twenty automatic chairs or

*Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's "Herodotos," II., 92.

† Hahn, p. 234.

‡ Rawlinson's "Ancient Religions," p. 98. Max Müller's "Science of Religion," Lecture III., pp. 171, seqq.

§ Rawlinson, pp. 136, 137. Also Max Müller.

‖ Hahn deals with other names which do not appear in Homer, and refers to Athenè, but without any clear sign that the name is of Pelasgian derivation. Hahn, Alb. Stud. Hept. I., Abschn. IV., p. 253.

¶ Il., I., 607.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stools for use by the gods in the Olympian court. But this limit, although one of number, does not admit of a clear and determinate verification. Towards making out a list, however, I offer the following observations:

1. The five really great gods, with whom there is no other that can compare in ruling powers, are Zeus, Heré, Poseidon, Apollo, and Athenè.

2. Next come the deities whom the Poet himself represents to us as usually present in Olympos among the assembled Immortals. These are Hephaistos,* Arès,† Hermes,‡ Iris,§ Leto,‖ Artemis,¶ Themis,** Aphroditè,†† Dionè,‡‡ Paieon,§§ Hebè.‖‖ Thus far we have sixteen occupants for the twenty seats.

Helios also is introduced (Od., XII., 376) as addressing Zeus and the body of the Immortals; but this is in the outer Zone of the "Odyssey," and even the name of Olympos is carefully avoided in the passage.

We have thus far the number of sixteen. There are others with claims more or less obscured: Demeter, Persephonè, Dionusos, and Thetis, who is of low rank, but is a most important personage in the "Iliad." Aidoneus, on account of his rank in the Triad, can hardly be excluded, though he has not the active ruling powers of Persephonè. And Heracles is said (Od., XI., 503) to join in the banquets of the gods, and to be mated with Hebè, an undoubted Olympian. Histiè might also be named, but her personality is faint: she is only mentioned, I think, four times, and always, as Ouranos is, by way of attestation.¶¶ On the whole, the number of the Homeric Olympians seems to oscillate from a little below to a little above the number twenty. And twenty was a small number, compared with the crowds of those who ruled in the various orders of the Assyrian and Egyptian systems, of either of which it is very possible that Homer may have had some inkling. But it is probable that he was not unwilling to be in this matter somewhat indeterminate. Accommodation was of the essence of his method, and accommodation involved much compromise. He was content to use his deities as the purpose of his poems required, and he did not need to be prepared with an

* Il., I., 571. † V., 368, 369; XIII., 523. ‡ Il., XXIV., 334; Od., V., 3, 28. § Il., XXIV., 77, 144. ‖ Il., V., 447. ¶ Ibid. ** Il., XV., 93. †† Il., V., 421, 427. ‡‡ Il., V., 370. §§ Ibid., 899. ‖‖ Il., IV., 2; V., 905. ¶¶ Od., XIV., 159, *et alibi.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

aye or no upon the exact rank of each in a system compounded of the materials supplied to his hand by heterogeneous nationalities.

So much for the Olympian gods, properly to be so called. Partly in the background, partly in the lower levels of the scheme, partly upon the wings of purely poetic figure, the following preternatural entities fill up the scheme of Homer :

1. The Nature-powers, who, on great occasions are (except Okeanos) summoned to the great chapter, or general assembly, of the upper world.

2. Foreign deities wholly unassimilated, such as Kirkè, Calupso, Proteus, Amphitritè, the Seirenes, Ino Leucotheè, a damsel deified for Amphitritè's domain ; Atlas, Eidotheè.*

3. *Ministers of justice or of doom : Erinues, Kères, Harpuiai.*

4. Powers directive of human fortunes : Moira, Moros,† Aisa, Kèr (the singular being most commonly used in this connection), Kataclothes.

5. Purely figurative and poetical conceptions : Dream (Oneiros), Sleep (Hupnos), Death (Thanatos), Terror (Phobos), Panic (Deimos), Strife (Eris), Rumor (Ossa), and the like.

Some of these shadowy personages come nearer than others to full impersonation. Eris, for example, is the mistress and the sister of Arès (Il., IV., 440) ; and she is also despatched by Zeus (Il., XI., 2–12) to stir the army to battle by her shouting. And Hupnos (Sleep) not only joins with his brother Thanatos (Death) in transporting the dead Sarpedon to his home, but is bribed, by the promise of a wife from Herè, to undertake his hazardous operation upon Zeus (Il., XIV., 267, seqq., and XVI., 682). On the more gracious side of these subjects, we have the slightly-drawn figures of the Charites, and of the Muses, who bear the high title of daughters of Zeus (Il., II., 491) and officiate at Olympian banquets (Il., I., 604), but who perhaps derive their chief importance from the invocations of the poets.

6. Finally, we have, in dark shadow, the presentation of the rebel powers in the supernatural world. These are the Titans, who dwell in Tartaros, or under it, with Kronos for their companion and their chief (Il., XIV., 203, 274; XV., 225). And with them come the Giants ; about whom we only know that they were plunged into ruin, and that they were of the kindred of Poseidon

* Od., V., 335.

† Moros may perhaps be defined as Moira, less the element of personality.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Od., VII., 59, 60; X., 205, 206). Most of these figures are faintly sketched upon a remote background, and it is hard to say whether we are to take them as persons or not.

Important distinctions of quality and prerogative are to be observed even among the Olympian divinities most properly so called. One chief line of cleavage is between the five great deities and the rest of the band. The preëminence of these five cannot be too carefully borne in mind.

1. They are (with differences among themselves) differently related to the conditions of time and space.

2. They are never subjected, in the Poems, to palpable defeat or disparagement.

3. They take part providentially, rather than corporally, in the direction of human affairs. But this rule has exceptions; such, for example, as the action of Poseidon in the fourteenth and fifteenth books of the "Iliad."

4. They do not enter visibly into battles of men (Il., XIV., 386).

5. In the Theomachy, they have no conflict among themselves.

6. Their power is not absolutely limited to a particular function or department.

7. No one of them has individually any concern with food or drink, except as to their satisfaction in the reek of sacrifice. Consider, on the other hand, the case of Sleep in Il., XIV., 241, and more conspicuously that of Hermes, who enjoys, after his long flight, ambrosia and nectar in the grotto of Calupso. (See Od., III., 92–96.)

8. The deities below the line are not, as a rule, made the objects of special prayer from mortals. The case of Artemis, in Od., XX., 61, will require a separate discussion.

9. Among the common distinctions of the five, however, we cannot include a higher moral standard as belonging to the class.

But all the Olympian deities, above as well as below the line, are subject to the general conditions of theanthropism. Corporally they alike bear the human form. (See, for example, Il., II., 476–479, where this is given to Zeus, Arès, and Poseidon.) Mentally, they have a like equipment of human faculties and propensities, on a scale generally enlarged.

There are also distinctions of power, and otherwise, even among these five greater gods. In sheer power Zeus is manifestly superior

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to any other deity singly (Il., VIII., 208–211; XV., 136); while, as between him and the aggregate, or a powerful combination, the question may be said to rest in doubt. Upon the whole, however, the five are linked together by power more than any other single attribute. They differ very much both in moral and in intellectual characteristics. They differ also in point of ethnographical relations. Athenè and Apollo may be said, in many important respects, to form a class apart.

The assembling of the gods constitutes a marked feature in the Homeric system.

The forms of this assembling were various. In a certain sense, they were perpetually in company one of another, by virtue of their habitual residence on Olympos. As, for example, the colloquy of Zeus and Thetis is followed by his going to his own palace (Il., I., 533); but all the gods rise up to receive him on his arrival, which implies that they were in some sense assembled. Then follows a spirited conversation, with a full-formed entertainment for its sequel. Again, in the seventh book, when the Achaians proceed to raise a bulwark for the ships, the proceeding is observed from Olympos and a conversation of gods takes place (VII., 443–464).*

Neither of these meetings was an *agorè* properly so called. But in Il., IV., 1, the gods appear as sitting in *agorè* (ἠγορόωντο), and in Il., VIII., 2, Zeus constituted or appointed an *agorè* (ἀγορὴν πεποιήσατο). This *agorè* of the gods is like the *boulè* or council among men. The numbers gathered are small, and under ordinary circumstances there is no formal summoning. But, on the great occasion preceding the Theomachy, a general assembly of Immortals of all classes is held, and the Nature-powers appear, down to the humblest. Okeanos alone receives no summons, and it seems that respect for his seniority, and a reverence due to him as the source of the whole divine order, saved him from being called to a meeting where there was no place vacant for his influence. Themis† is the agent employed by Zeus to call the deities together.

There is room for criticism on the mode in which this incident has been presented. The great Assembly, thus formally called together, when it is gathered does not deliberate, but fights. Further, its members do not all fight, but only a few.‡ Next,

* See also Il., VIII., 36; XIV., 224; XV., 84. † Il., XX., 4. ‡ Il., XX., 31-40.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of those who are in the fight, one, namely Aphroditè, never makes an appearance in the embattled rank, but only leads the defeated Arès off the field.* Again, this Assembly has no influence whatever on the issue of the war; for that issue had been determined and decreed long before. And, lastly, of the five divinities combatant on the Trojan side, there are two, Apollo and Leto, whom the poet never subjects to any disparagement: consequently, in these cases, pleas have to be found by which a contest is avoided. There remain three deities to be disposed of; two of the partisans of Troy, namely, Arès, the opponent of Athenè in the war, and Artemis (who in Troas seems clearly to be the Earth-goddess afterwards worshipped at Ephesus), are ignominiously defeated. The River-god Xanthos is also worsted, but with more honor. In the Poems generally, Homer has represented only Olympian debates and differences. But here he seems to deal with the cults of the two countries as they are exhibited in the human sphere, and we see the earthy religion of Troas smitten to the ground before the more refined and intellectual scheme which the Poet has elaborated for his nation.

But this is an exceptional case. The regular *agorai* come to practical conclusions, though the concurrence of the Court is usually conveyed only by a tacit assent.

In the third Book of the "Iliad,"† Athenè carries from the divine Assembly the commission under which she suggests to Pandaros that he should break the solemn pact of the two nations. This proceeding no doubt ministers to the accomplishment of the grand plot such as it has been arranged with Thetis, but it is the only suggestion of an immoral act which ever grows out of the meeting of an Olympian council. In the eighth Book, the injunction of non-interference by Zeus is received with general acquiescence, only Athenè murmuring, and obtaining from him something which approaches to a mitigating clause.‡ In the first "Odyssey" the whole plan for the relief and return of Odysseus is stated and adopted; Poseidon, who is the only god otherwise minded, absenting himself.§

From the simple fact that there were assemblies of the gods, it appears that they constituted a polity of some kind.

A monarchy, strictly so called, can hardly be regarded as a polity, so far as regards the relation between the monarch and the

* Il., XXI., 416. † III., 68-73. ‡ VIII., 10-12, 28-40. § Od., I., 76-95.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other members of the community; although the monarch may establish a real polity as among those members themselves, and as between the classes which they may compose. But the Olympian scheme was no pure monarchy in the sense I have described.

We may test the position of Zeus principally in two ways. First, by the amount of his ultimate coercive power in relation to the other divinities. Secondly, by finding an answer to the question whether the plots of the two great Poems were accomplished conformably to his mind and will.

Both require examination in detail. As to the first, we have seen that no single deity could compete with him. He had actually inflicted corporal punishment upon Herè (Il., XV., 18–25); and Poseidon had to give way to his threat (*ibid.*, 205–211). But it remains doubtful whether, after the Olympian scheme was established, a powerful combination of deities could have dethroned him as it did before that great consummation (Il., I., 397–406). As to the second question, it may be truly said that the reëstablishment of Odysseus in his family and on his throne was agreeable to justice, of which he was all along the champion; and also that the fall of Troy was due to the perpetration of an atrocious outrage and the obstinate refusal of redress (Il., VII., 357–364). Yet, in the "Odyssey," Zeus has to tolerate the cruel persecution of Odysseus by Poseidon, with which he could have had no sympathy; and in the "Iliad" he consents to the overthrow of Troy against his inclination (ἑκὼν ἀέκοντί γε θυμῷ, Il., IV., 43), and on the principle of give and take as announced by Herè, "We will cede to one another, I to you and you to me" (Il., IV., 62, 63); this, too, although Ilios was to Zeus the dearest of all cities on the habitable earth (*ibid.*, 44–49).

So that Zeus, at any rate, did not carry to a corporal issue the question of his power to overrule the rest of the deities collectively, and found it either necessary or prudent to allow in given cases a given scope to their adverse wills, as the condition on which his general supremacy in the affairs of men could be maintained.

Again, as to the form in which the Olympian government was carried on, it was what we may term constitutional. Affairs were largely discussed in council, and the will of Zeus is never set against the aggregate will of the rest. It is true that the plot of the "Iliad," considered as the μῆνις, or Wrath, and also its consequences, are determined by him at the suit of Thetis, and ratified by

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the nod (Il., I., 528), without other sanction or intervention. To this determination applies the declaration of Il., I., 5, that the design of Zeus was duly fulfilled. In lesser cases he allowed the self-assertion of others; and this is the grand exhibition of his own. It is based on retribution for a gross and singularly ungrateful outrage.

In its idea and its practice the Olympian religion is a polytheism, but one reduced to order and method. It is kept within these lines mainly by the political influence of a presiding mind, although the resort to the strong hand is frequently brought into view; and in both respects the Poet maintains a substantial analogy to the course of human affairs; the main distinction, perhaps, being that Zeus has not, while Agamemnon has, his superior among his own powerful vassals. Self-will, and even caprice, are traceable in the special action of the deities singly; but the collective government of the gods works for good.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

GEORGE ELIOT AND MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.

"MODERATE your transports, Marchioness," said Mr. Richard Swiveller to his titled friend upon a celebrated occasion, and the advice might be opportunely repeated to more than one critic and reader of the present day. Our danger is the opposite to that of the time in which Scotch reviewers were not only hard on English bards, but chary of praise to any newcomer. Every newspaper, every weekly review—with a few stern exceptions of both kinds—is a watch-tower for the discovery of genius.

One of the latest planets to swim into the ken of those who keep weather eyes on the literary sky, is the author of "Robert Elsmere" and "David Grieve." Not merely the professional discoverers have hailed the lady with acclamation, but in private life scores of the apparently judicious deem her a great novelist. A frequent means of praising Mrs. Humphry Ward, especially since the appearance of "David Grieve," is to compare her—for modern criticism is nothing if not comparative—to the author of "Adam Bede" and "Silas Marner." And there is undoubtedly a superficial likeness. Both women are learned to the verge of pedantry, both have a far-reaching interest in life and the problems of human conduct, both get their novels under way and keep them under way by elaborate and often cumbrous means.

But resemblance, partial even in these particulars, ceases altogether with these; and what seems to me the radical difference between George Eliot and Mrs. Ward—apart from the striking difference in native ability—is to be found in their respective manifestations of that moral purpose which appears to be their chief bond of union. In short, George Eliot began writing fiction as a novelist, and ended as a moralist: Mrs. Ward began as a moralist, and has she yet become a novelist? "Miss Bretherton," her first creative work, is an apparent exception to this crudely stated formula; but "Miss Bretherton," charming as it is, leaves the reader suspecting that the author may have undertaken it not from an impulse to represent character, but with a determination, highly laudable in itself, to talk about art and the theatre. The human spectacle, for its own sake, may fairly be called the inspiration of the "Scenes from Clerical Life," of "Adam Bede," of "Silas Marner," even of "The Mill on the Floss." But Mrs. Ward wishes in one case to defend natural religion as against revealed religion, in the other to prove the superiority of the most unsatisfactory marriage—thus David describes to Lucy their condition, without betraying any consciousness of a lack of gallantry either on his part or on that of his author—to an ideal *union libre*. In both instances she

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dresses her puppets suitably and moves them about in an ample and tastefully colored scene. These dolls walk and talk; in contrast with the handiwork of inferior artists they seem to live and breathe—for never, it must be admitted, has the novel of sheer purpose been so deftly managed as by Mrs. Ward; but put them over against Dorothea, Rosamond, Gwendolen, or even against Grandcourt, Tito, and Lydgate, and they are only marionettes, skilfully twitched through the moral show which Mrs. Ward is bent on exhibiting to a public that suffereth long and is kind.

The mention of these three men of "Middlemarch," "Romola," and "Deronda," is a reminder of Mr. Stevenson's assertion that women's men are never real men, and that Tito himself carries with him the suggestion of a comb at the back of his head. Mr. Henley is a degree less violent, and allows the "*male principle*" to Lydgate. These gentlemen are, after all, Scotch reviewers, and most men are disposed to welcome as brothers Lydgate, Tito, and the exquisitely brutal Grandcourt. But what man and brother would extend the right hand of fellowship in sex to David Grieve and the Reverend Mr. Elsmere? When they are mentioned, Tito yields the comb.

If George Eliot be superior to Mrs. Humphry Ward in holding to the novelist's true vocation and in the far deeper realization of her characters, her superiority is no less marked in drama, in passion, and above all in humor. Marner—to take but a single illustration—Marner finding the golden-haired child where the golden coin had been before, is not approached, at however great a distance, by any scene in Mrs. Ward's volumes; those certain few pages of "The Mill on the Floss" have more passion in them than the whole of Mrs. Ward's painstaking description of the two weeks of unwedded bliss experienced by David and Elise; and, as for humor, Mrs. Poyser alone would be almost enough to rank George Eliot among the English humorists of the nineteenth century. Mrs. Ward, on the other hand, does not number this most saving grace among her many gifts. Or, rather, such sense of humor as she may have is limited and obscure. Her Derbyshire peasants wrestle grimly with a dialect that excludes thought of anything else on the reader's part, but the author of "Silas Marner" contrives so to surround her country folk with the atmosphere of Warwickshire taverns that they have had no rivals in rustic breadth and humor except Joseph Poorgrass and the other Shakespearian peasants of Thomas Hardy. In truth, the apparently judicious have scarce a leg to stand on when they liken Mrs. Ward to George Eliot. For if in substance she is no analogue, in manner the analogy holds still less, as anyone may see who will look at the English of "Mr. Gilfil's Love Story" and then at that of "Miss Bretherton," or make a similar examination of the diction of "The Mill on the Floss" and the diction of "David Grieve." Mrs. Humphry Ward writes ably and well, but she has no style, and at her best George Eliot is a master of style.

These few remarks protract themselves unduly. They were meant merely to point the moral of Mr. Swiveller's more important remarks to the Marchioness, but the briefest word about Mrs. Ward and her great predecessor would be incomplete without a reference to religion, in the treatment of which they are also conspicuously unlike. George Eliot sedulously keeps her religion out of her novels. With Mrs. Ward it is ever creeping monotonously into the view, although the result of her application of improved heating apparatus to what Emerson calls somewhere "the Unitarian cold greenhouse"—memory, I own, is sole voucher for the quotation—is hardly more

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comforting than George Eliot's distant and invisible choir, "whose music is the sadness [it should read] of the world." But, religion apart, there is no good excuse for confounding ethics with genius, conscience with art, or—Mrs. Ward with George Eliot.

CHARLES TOWNSEND COPELAND.

TYPHUS FEVER.

ON FEBRUARY 11th of this year there came to my office in the morning mail four postal cards; each reported a separate case of typhoid fever in the house No. 42 East Twelfth Street, New York City. My attention was at once aroused by the exceedingly unusual fact of typhoid appearing in four persons in the same house on the same day. I asked Dr. F. H. Dillingham and Dr. Charles F. Roberts to go with me, and we together drove to the house indicated. Before we left it we had found not four, but fifteen well-developed cases of typhus fever, and in other houses, before the day had passed, forty-four additional cases were discovered. It was comparatively easy to trace these cases. The steamship "Massilia" had arrived in this port a few days before from Marseilles, France, having on board a number of Russian Hebrews, who, fleeing alike from the famine and the police of the Tsar, had sought refuge and liberty in this country. They had been helped on their way by the Hirsch Fund, and they were, for the most part, in charge, at the time we found the disease, of the officers of that charity.

The subsequent action of the Board of Health was that which experience has shown to be the best. Through the energy of President Charles G. Wilson of the Board ample accommodation for the patients we expected was secured at once on North Brother Island. Then came the work of fighting the disease. Additional inspectors were sworn in, and everything was made ready for a heavy siege. We did not dare to hope that the outbreak would stop there.

There are only two ways of fighting typhus fever. These are: 1st, Isolation of the sick and those exposed to the contagion; and, 2d, The destruction, or thorough disinfection, of all articles which may have come in contact with the sufferers.

It is not always necessary, however, to isolate those who have been merely exposed, but it is necessary to keep them under the strictest sanitary surveillance and to examine them daily. Persons who have a fixed habitation may be permitted to carry on their business provided the examination goes on. At the first symptom of the disease these people are of course isolated. Persons who live in lodging houses, taking their rooms by the night, here to-day and there to-morrow, should always be quarantined over the period of incubation. The importance to the Health Department of these periods of incubation in diseases may be understood by explaining them. The period of incubation is that time necessary after a person has contracted a disease before it shows itself actively. It is the time which the disease takes to hatch out, if I may so express myself. As it is believed that during the period of incubation a person suffering is not dangerous to others, and as towards the close of this period symptons begin to show themselves, it enables the Department to isolate the sufferers before they become centres of infection.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In typhus fever the medical authorities on the disease place the period of incubation between one and twenty-one days. The experience of this Department would indicate that from nine to sixteen days is much nearer the actual time. After the expiration of the longer period we consider the suspect to be safe, although "to make assurance doubly sure" we continue the isolation, or the surveillance, until twenty-one days be passed.

In the case of these Russian Hebrews we were so far fortunate in the fact that they were among the immigrants assisted by the Hirsch Fund. This carried with it the conclusion that they were kept together for the most part. The disease broke out when the agents of the fund were looking for places for the immigrants. The coöperation of the United Hebrew Charities has been a very valuable aid to the Health Department.

To date (March 4th) there have been found 130 cases in New York City. Of these 106 were passengers on the "Massilia" and 24 were residents who caught the fever from the former. The disease has appeared in this city, Newburgh, Providence, R. I., Kinderhook, Oakdale, Mass., Pittsburg, and St. Louis. In Providence and Newburgh the sufferers were Italians; but of the two hundred and odd Italian immigrants on the "Massilia," only three have been found to have developed typhus. This is owing to their isolation from the Russians on board the steamer.

The disease is well under control. To date there have been seven deaths, and, calculating on the number of adults affected, the mortality is about 18 per cent. Of the sufferers about thirty per cent. were children, and it is known that children rarely have the disease in a severe form.

The parent outbreak of the disease took place in the famine districts in Russia, and the patients in whom the disease showed itself here were of those unfortunates who have been weakened by want in the dominions of the Tsar. It is impossible for me to persuade myself that this outbreak is the measure of the danger to the people of the United States from the Russian famine. The famine gives no sign as yet of abatement, nor so far as the published reports go may we believe that the Russian authorities have, up to the present time, perfected any adequate measures of relief. It is, in fact, a question whether relief can be afforded to sufferers so great in number and spread over such a vast extent of territory. If this be true, then the famine is destined to become greater, the sufferers more numerous, the misery more awful, and the resultant diseases of more terribly malignant type. If, once more, unrestricted immigration and imports be permitted to go on from a country under these conditions, then we are threatened by a very serious and real danger. "Near is my coat but nearer is my skin," runs the Spanish proverb, and while it may be our duty to welcome the oppressed, it is certainly true that our first duty is to our own people and our own homes.

We cannot say that the present danger is such that we should quarantine this country against Russian immigrants and articles of commerce. This extreme measure is not needed, with the knowledge we now have of guarding against the immigration of disease. But it is plainly necessary that we should class all Russians and Russian goods as suspects and should treat them accordingly. Articles of commerce coming from Russian ports should be thoroughly disinfected, and all immigrants from infected districts in that country should be isolated on their arrival and carefully watched until the period of incubation be passed.

There is no cause for alarm, much less for panic, but there is abundant cause for careful, thorough, and scientific supervision and watchfulness,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

With these we shall be perfectly safe, for with disease as an immigrant it is true that forewarned is forearmed in this day and generation.

CYRUS EDSON.

THE FROST CURE.

IT HAS often been observed that great truths are not revealed till Time has prepared the way for their reception; still it is a curious fact that nearly all the most important steps in the progress of science were half-anticipated by men apparently unconscious of having approached the threshold of a world-changing discovery.

In the morning twilight of the Christian Middle Ages, America was visited twice, and, if we shall believe Professor Karsen, at least three times, by adventurous sea-rovers who hardly thought it worth while to report their skirmishes with the natives of a wild forest-land. Before the end of the eleventh century, printing-presses were used in China for the multiplication of pictures, though not of books; and about the same time the Mongol invaders of Eastern Europe increased the terror of their arms by means of machines described as "brass tubes, belching forth fire with great noise," but which were certainly not used to discharge balls. Pythagoras vaguely outlines all the essential principles of a system which only two thousand years later was rediscovered by Keppler and Copernicus.

In Turkey the inoculation cure of cutaneous diseases was occasionally practised two centuries before the time of Dr. Jenner, but future generations may consider it a much stranger fact that the nineteenth century more than once so closely approached the discovery of the *Frost Cure*. For medical statistics, read aright, might even now make it doubtful if smallpox, cholera, and yellow fever combined have proved half as destructive of human life as a delusion which a hygienic reformer describes as the "Cold Fallacy,"—the habit of ascribing all sorts of ailments to the influence of a low temperature. The air of the outdoor world, of the woods and hills, he says, is, *par excellence*, a product of nature, and, therefore, the presumptive cause of innumerable evils. Cold air has become the general scapegoat of sinners against nature. When Don Juan's knee-joints begin to weaken he suspects himself of having "taken cold." If an old glutton has a cramp in the stomach, he ascribes it to an incautious exposure on coming home from a late supper. Toothache is supposed to result from "draughts;" croup, neuralgia, mumps, etc., from the "raw March wind." When children have been forced to sleep in unventilated bedrooms till their lungs putrefy with their own exhalations, the *mater-familias* reproaches herself with the most sensible thing she has been doing for the last hundred nights—"opening the windows last August, when the air was so stifling."

Even old-school physicians begin to suspect that "the danger of cold air currents has been greatly overrated;" but what if the demon of popular delusion should turn out to be not only a harmless sprite, but a minister of mercy—the most harmless as well as the most powerful disinfectant, and Nature's panacea for the disorders of the human organism?

Is Time "preparing the way" for that truth by half-way discoveries?

Priessnitz, the founder of hydropathy, managed to cure obstinate cases of dyspepsia by cold shower-baths; but it is highly probable that the same purpose could be attained, in a more natural and much less disagreeable manner, by the inhalation of fresh, cold a-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mountaineers and the natives of high latitudes are almost indigestion-proof, but dyspeptics can save themselves the trouble of a trip to the Norwegian Highlands by the simple plan of sleeping, snugly covered, in the immediate neighborhood of a wide-open window, and imbibing large draughts of the cool night air. In cold weather a few hours will thus suffice to stimulate the torpid organism; but even in midsummer, each night can be made to undo the mischief of the preceding day. So far from being unpleasant, that method of refrigeration can become a positive luxury; each lung full of cool air revives the languid system, as cold water refreshes the parched palate. On the other hand, it might be questioned if the father of hydropathy ever really came to relish his own prescription. A Canadian bear will make a wide circuit, or pick his way over the ice-floes like the hegira heroine of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," rather than swim a lake in cold weather. Baptist missionaries do not report many revivals before June.

Ice has become a substitute for less harmless antiseptics in many hospitals, and a few months ago a Spanish physician, of Santiago de Cuba, proved by a series of triumphant experiments that yellow fever patients can be cured in ice-lined bedrooms. This *camera polar* ("polar chamber") was furnished with double walls and floors, the interspaces being filled with a mixture of sand and blocks of sea-ice, *i. e.*, common sea-water frozen by the usual evaporation process of our ice factories. Vessels with chloride of lime were put here and there to absorb moisture and noxious gases—a combination of artificial contrivances by which its inventor proposed to "re-establish the atmospheric conditions of the Arctic zone, where a dry, low temperature prevents the development of climatic fevers." That idea is an indisputable step in the right direction, but there is more than one reason to suspect that the effective element of the *camera polar* plan was cold air, pure and simple. Ordinary water, frozen in the usual way, would have answered the same purpose, and the dryness of frosty air is not an indispensable condition of its efficiency. In the humid bottom lands of the Mississippi Valley the first good night-frost puts a stop to climatic fevers, without the aid of sea-salt or chloride of lime.

Europe and North America have for years recorded the progress of a phenomenon, which a friend of mine calls the "Siberia mystery,"—the northward exodus of the more enterprising elements of population. During the last two thousand years the centres of civilization have moved at least eight hundred miles nearer the poles; the balance of political and intellectual power has been transferred from Rome and Athens to Berlin, London, St. Petersburg, Boston, and New York. Within the limits of our own national territory a similar current is setting towards the frozen tablelands of our northern border. The overpopulation of the sunnier latitudes cannot explain the enigma, for there is more elbowroom in the Elysian terrace lands of the southern Alleghanies than on many bleak prairies of the far Northwest. The key of the mystery may be found in the stimulating influence of a low temperature. Frost is an antidote, and greatly modifies the penalties of our manifold sins against the health laws of Nature. It enables gluttons to digest greasy-made dishes; it helps topers to survive excesses that would kill a native of the tropics in a few weeks. It also counteracts the chronic indolence of exhausted constitutions. In the uplands of the Black Hills a squatter is not apt to neglect his woodpile. In "Duluth, the solid" (lake often solidly frozen to a depth of eight feet), a business man can shift with a minimum of after-dinner rest. The efficacy of the plan is undeniable, but with

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

open bedroom windows and less superheated tea, its benefits might be enjoyed nearer home.

The "mountain-cure," American physicians call the last expedient in cases of far-gone consumption. The patient, wardrobe, library, and all, is transported to a tent-camp in the upper Adirondacks, where the temperature in October often sinks to fifteen degrees below zero. Blankets are allowed *ad libitum*, but no stove-fires at night, and even in daytime highland blizzards may oblige the convalescent to take refuge under his blankets. Few breeds of tubercle-microbes have been able to resist that prescription for more than a month, and in the course of a winter such remnants of pulmonary substance as the invalid may have saved from the influence of city life will get expurgated effectively enough to remain in fair working order for years to come.

Those remarkable results have been variously ascribed to the purity of mountain air, or to that mysterious "allotropic form of oxygen called ozone;" but again, there is a probability amounting to what lawyers would term a violent presumption, that they are simply due to the protracted influence of cold air. The prevalence of pulmonary diseases decreases with every mile further north on the road from the factory districts of the English border to the pastoral regions of sea-girt Scotland, and next to the natives of Senegambia, where indoor work is almost unknown, the Norwegians, Icelanders, and the Yakuts, of Northern Siberia, enjoy the most complete immunity from consumption. The severe frosts of the Arctic regions counteract even the filthy habits of the hovel-dwelling Esquimaux, and whalers in an atmosphere not specially distinguished for its purity or abundance of ozone manage to get the better of incipient tubercles by frequent exposure to icy gales.

The suggestiveness of those facts would, perhaps, have been less persistently ignored if the study of the symptoms and proximate causes of consumption had not tended to divert attention from its original causes and the means of its prevention. The description of "vermiform microbes" and the methods of coloring their semi-transparent tissue certainly attest the ingenuity of the Breslau experimenter, and his disciples are perhaps right in pronouncing him the first analytical pathologist of modern times, but their pompous demands upon the gratitude of consumptives often remind one of that speculative philosopher who tried to console a severely wounded soldier with the reflection that, "Pain, my friend, is really nothing but a reversion in the molecular action of the sympathetic nerves connecting the brain with the extra-cerebral nervous termini."

The Frost-cure doctrine is, indeed, a logical, and, practically, by far the most important, correlative of the "germ theory of disease." A few years ago the proprietor of a Hot-Springs sanitarium advertised his establishment with the motto: "Warmth is life; cold is death." In a modified form that aphorism may become the keystone-principle of sanitary philosophy: Warmth is life; cold, even in a moderate degree, is death—not to man—but to myriads of disease-germs far more sensitive to changes of temperature.

FELIX L. OSWALD, M. D.

A PHASE OF PRACTICAL PHILANTHROPY.

MAHOMET set a tolerably good example when the mountain did not move, and charitable people who would help the workingman are beginning to follow it. They have come to feel that they can no longer walk about in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

an up-town cloud of benevolence with the hope that down-town suffering will be any the less. They are going out to meet the poorest classes on their own ground. From boys' clubs to University Extension there are a hundred signs of this new feeling, and by no means the least promising expression of it is the movement that goes by the name of University Settlements. Its spread to America from England, where it is still new, gives it now a special interest for Americans. Briefly, it may be said to consist of the occupancy of a house in city "slums" by college bred men or women banded together for doing all in their power for the moral, mental, and social good of the poor about them. The vast difference between University Settlements and previous plans lies in the residence of the workers in the very midst of the poor; they are no longer visitors, but neighbors.

How the entire movement commemorates the short life of Arnold Toynbee need not be told. A glance at the work of Toynbee Hall and the other Settlements at home and abroad will show better than any broad statements what the movement is.

At Toynbee Hall, opened seven years ago, fifteen to twenty Cambridge University men are always to be found in actual residence. Many "associates" and visitors for longer and shorter periods bring them aid. The building resembles a small English college, and, standing in the unsavory Whitechapel district of London, primarily creates an "atmosphere" purifying the air about it. Many of the residents have not independent means to free them from breadwinning through the day. At night these men return to the Hall, and give themselves to any service they can best perform for their unfortunate neighbors. Night classes in various studies, and entertainments of many sorts fill their evenings with usefulness.

Those who can give their entire time to the work enter more fully into the political and social life of the region. It is felt that new laws are not so much needed as the creation of a just sentiment in favor of those existing. The influence of competent leaders plays its part in all communities but the most degraded. In such places as Whitechapel there has often been nobody to see that public affairs are properly conducted. The Toynbee men supply this need. One of them is chairman of a branch of the Dockers' Union, the enormous labor organization which made itself so strongly felt in London not long ago; another works with the Charity Organization Society. In the schools, in the Children's Country Holiday Work, and in a score of other activities one or another of the residents does something. Through the lectures provided by Toynbee Hall it is said that the leading public and literary people of England are heard nowhere more frequently than in Whitechapel. The political, social and educational life of the region are all distinctly better for the Settlement.

But, some will ask, what do the people care? A single instance shows how they have joined in the work for their own uplifting. For years Mr. Barnett, the clergyman at the head of Toynbee Hall, has been trying to have a free library in Whitechapel. When the proposition first came up the people's vote defeated it heavily. Recently the subject was again brought forward, and the region was canvassed under Toynbee Hall direction. The vote in favor of the library was nearly four to one. Other elections have been influenced with equal success. The men's and boys' clubs, conducted by Toynbee men for sundry objects of improvement, are exceedingly popular. Without the favor of the people the Hall could not have become, as it has, the social centre of the neighborhood. They see disinterested, earnest work

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in their behalf by men whose daily lives are in no wise divided from their own, and heartily respond to what is doing for them.

Toynbee Hall is perhaps the most conspicuous of the London University Settlements, but in other parts of the vast city other organizations are carrying on a similar work. They are different, however, in that, for the most part, they represent each a school of thought or religious belief. Though no work could be more truly religious than Toynbee Hall's, it has no avowed religious aims, and men of all shades of belief join in its labors.

Oxford House, in "the squalid streets of Bethnal Green," stands for the young High Church party of Oxford. Its means may be more conspicuously religious, but its end differs in no important degree from that of Toynbee Hall. From seven to fifteen young Oxford men carry on the resident work. They are assisted by a great many undergraduate visitors. The University Club, begun in 1885 with twelve members, and now counting fifteen hundred workingmen on its rolls, is one of the chief undertakings of the House. With the Club are connected a large co-operative store for general merchandise and small co-operative societies in special branches of trade. A number of minor clubs for different objects are also managed from Oxford House. In outdoor preaching, hospital visiting, houses of shelter, and especially in sanitary work for the neighborhood, great good is accomplished. The Oxford House Papers, two volumes of collected lectures delivered at the House by Oxford scholars, are highly valuable contributions to the literature of popular religion. The personal influence of the men of this Settlement is closely akin to that of the Toynbee residents.

On a smaller scale than either of these Settlements, several other groups of cultivated men and women are doing a like work in London. Mrs. Humphry Ward's University Hall works upon lines which readers of "Robert Elsmere" will readily imagine. The spread of radical Bible criticism is not the least noticeable of its aims. The Wesleyans and Jews have each their Settlement. One of the most efficient of them all is the Women's University Settlement, where graduates of Girton, Newnham and other women's colleges do an excellent work, under Mrs. Barnett's guidance and largely through charities already organized, for children and women. It is impossible to enumerate the other phases of the Settlement work even in London. In Birmingham, Glasgow and Edinburgh, missions and Settlements of college men are equally active.

The first attempt in the direction of Settlement work in New York was made by the Neighborhood Guild nearly five years ago. Like the English Settlements it has been conducted by college graduates, though few in number, living in the midst of the people they have tried to reach. Personal influence, mainly through men's, girls' and boys' clubs for social and other purposes, has been the chief means towards the Guild's achievements. The Neighborhood Guild has not yet realized its ambition to become the Toynbee Hall of New York, but though its activity has not been so constantly great as its founders hoped, it has done a steady, good work. Its extension into a University Settlement adequate to the city's needs is now apparently near at hand.

The Women's College Settlement, of New York, has for the past few years been doing excellent things in its Rivington Street House. Seven or more graduates of Smith, Wellesley, Vassar, and Bryn Mawr, one of them a physician, living at their own expense within its walls and helped by frequent visitors, have carried on their quiet work for the neighboring women

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and children. The region is inhabited largely by Russian Jews, though many other races are represented. Clubs and classes teach the boys and girls of the district many things, from physical culture to political science, besides the good manners they learn by example alone. A military drill appeals strongly to the boys. The girls are instructed in hygiene and household arts of the highest value to women of all classes. The Settlement's free library of fifteen hundred volumes has had within the past year the astonishing circulation of ten thousand. The baths in the basement do their share of civilizing, and are most heartily appreciated. On thirsty days the neighboring saloons are said to find a formidable rival in the free ice-water fountain in front of the Settlement. A Summer Home maintained by the Settlement gives children in groups of about twenty a series of fortnight outings in the country. There are too many good things about the work for one to relate here, and publicity is rather shunned than sought.

A similar Settlement of women is about to be formed in Philadelphia. In Chicago, Hull House, more distinctly due to one woman of wealth and less a *College* Settlement, is conducted on a kindred plan. Andover House, Boston's University Settlement, has just begun its labors. It is too early to say exactly what lines will be followed and what results attained. At its head is a man thoroughly familiar with the London Settlements, the author of the book from which much that is said of English matters in this sketch is drawn. There is little danger, therefore, of groundless experiments, and the best of good things may be expected.

Indeed, the time for looking upon University Settlements as experiments has passed. To the clear examples of London and New York, common sense adds the assurance that every new element of the plan is a good one. The poor are inevitably better for close association with whole-souled men and women working for them in methods that do not permit a suspicion of sham. And through re-action upon the Settlers—so to call them—and the half of society into which they are born, the benefits cannot be confined to the poor alone. No one device of men is going to "solve the social problem," but University Settlements bid fair to do a larger share of the good work than some more noisy projects.

M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE, JR.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED